Dharma Possession: Daishi Myōjin and the Roles of Gods and Past Masters in the Preservation of Teachings at Premodern Kōyasan

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is about the preservation of Buddhist teachings by means of seemingly unconventional methods. When lineages and factions competed for authority and for teachings that were believed to be in danger of being corrupted, or lost altogether, scholar monks of the Chūin-ryū lineage at Kōyasan restored, reinstated, and redelivered certain teachings through oracles given by the mountain gods, through paintings and their inscriptions, and through rituals.

In the first part of the dissertation I examine the Chūin-ryū and its connection to the role of leadership of the mountain-based community, and an oracular possession that functioned to transmit teachings from a hitherto obscure god named Daishi Myōjin. The background to this was extreme violence between two major factions in the community, and the subsequent exiles of some of the participants, which exacerbated—or perhaps provided a reason for—concerns about the decline of the lineage and even the entire community through the loss, via both corruption of teachings and exile of teachers, of embodied teachings. In the second part I examine paintings that I suggest were produced by the Chūin-ryū and involved important Chūin-ryū scholar monks who strove to restore scholarship after the exiles had exerted a damaging effect on the institutions of education. The paintings are linked to the oracle

examined in the previous section and they, as well as those figures to which the paintings and inscriptions on them are linked, are connected to debate and *mondō* ceremonies, and to the kami worship rites they involved. I then move into an examination of Daishi Myōjin and its character as an amalgamate deity comprised of patriarchs and kami, appropriate as both the ultimate authority in teaching, and as arbiter of justice. Furthermore, this deity seems to have been appropriated and defined by the Chūin-ryū. It was of great use at a time when they sought control of the community and consolidation of their position, via knowledge transmission, worship, and punishment, for Daishi Myōjin performed all these functions. I then examine scholarship at Kōyasan, and the most prominent debates from the Kamakura to the Muromachi periods, noting that the development of the kami iconography seems to have been related to that of scholarly institutions. Finally, I look at the scholarship-related ceremonies and related rituals and discern that they involve considerable "re-enactments" of events and encounters that were important to the Chūin-ryū and to their authority as prime lineage at Kōyasan.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DNBZ. *Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho* 大日本佛教全書. Ed. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木學術財團. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1970-73.

GR *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従. Ed. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一. Tokyo: Keizai Zasshisha, 1898-1902.

KDCZ. *Kōbō Daishi chosaku zenshū* 弘法大師著作全集. Ed. Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1997.

KDDZ. *Kōbō Daishi den zenshū* 弘法大師伝全集. Ed. Hase Hōshū 長谷寶秀. Tokyo: Pitaka, 1977.

KDZ. *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集 Wakayama: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1965 (3rd ed.).

NKBT. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文學大系. Ed. Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968-1978.

SZ. *Shingonshū zensho* 眞言宗全書. Ed.Takaoka Ryūshin 高岡隆心. Wakayama: Kōyasan Daigaku shuppanbu, 2004.

TKDZ. *Teihon Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 定本弘法大師全集, 10 vols. Ed. Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo. Wakayama-ken Kōyasan: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1991-1997.

T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, et al. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1935.

ZGR. *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従 Edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 et al. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kankōkai, 1923-1933.

ZSSZ. *Zoku Shingonshū zensho* 續眞言宗全書, 42 vols. Ed. Zoku Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai and Nakagawa Zenkyō. Wakayama: Zoku Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai, 1975-1988.

ZST. *Zoku shiryō taisei*. Edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店，1978.

TEXTUAL CONVENTIONS

The Revised Hepburn system, with some modification, is employed for Japanese terms. Chinese terms are romanized using the Pinyin system. I use the following abbreviations to refer to language:

Ch. (Chinese)
J. (Japanese)
Skt. (Sanskrit)
Mod. (modern)

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

I affix the appendix "ryū," (lineage) with a short dash (e.g. Chūin-ryū; Ono-ryū). When "in" and "ryū" are adjacent in a word (e.g. "Chūin-ryū") I omit the apostrophe that normally marks "in" ("cloister"), for the sake of readability. While there are many sub-lineages, and lineages that branched off these as well, I tend to use only the translation "lineage" and "sub-lineage" or "branch" when referring to these or when translating the terms *ryū*, *ryūha*, *bunryū*, etc.

Italicization:
I do not italicize terms that are used frequently in the dissertation except in the first instance of use: e.g. kami; Chūinryū; takusen, etc.

Kanji:
I provide the *kanji* and, if necessary, a definition or translation in parentheses in the first instance of use.

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were slow to emerge. He provided materials and explained much to assist my understanding of Kōyasan's religious community and its history, as did his family members who have all been unreservedly supportive and unforgettably kind. The resident monks and other staff of the temple were similarly welcoming. The times I lived at the temple, and subsequently in a house where monk Myōhen (1142-1224) had once based his community, are among the most treasured periods of my life.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Beyond the Mountain: Monograph, Monolith

Partway through the thirteenth century record *Henmyō'in Daishi Myōjin Go-Takusenki* 遍明院大師明神御託宣記 (*Record of the Oracle of Daishi Myojin at Henmyō'in Cloister*) (hereafter *Takusenki*), there appears the following line: "All the kami listen to the Rengejō'in *Dai-e* [蓮華乗院大会 Great Assembly at Rengejō'in cloister] and the assembly is honored by the attendance of the great past masters."[1] This was an important annual scholarly assembly held at Kōyasan 高野山, the powerful temple-complex of the Shingon 真言 sect of esoteric Buddhism formulated in Japan in the early ninth century by Kūkai (空海 774-835). It was of vast length, involving a large number of participants, and hefty penalties for those who did not attend. The sentence in the *Takusenki*, in describing the audience of a major lecture event as composed of kami 神 and the spirits of deceased monks, indicates not only the significance of debates and scholarship to those living figures concerned with the production of the oracle record which recorded it, but also those figures' understanding that these scholarly events involved not only human players but

[1] *Takusenki* 1:26. All quotes from *Takusenki* are cited in this abbreviated way. The reader is referred to the text as presented in Abe 1983.

transcendental and immaterial ones as well. Is this reference to such beings simply a rhetorical convention or an acknowledgement of the past and the immaterial in the broader Buddhist tradition? After all, descriptions of assemblies with the Buddha in the Pali sutras (and myriad subsequent) and portrayals of such gatherings in paintings (in particular, those of Pure Lands) include as audience members all manner of otherworldly sentient beings. Yet there is plentiful indication that at Kōyasan in the thirteenth century these beings were acknowledged as actual and significant presences, and moreover exercised authoritative roles in the transmission of doctrinal knowledge.

This dissertation is an inquisition into the nature of that transmission, and the character of knowledge itself as a secret, sacred thing, passed along via channels and processes often mystical. I consider the (deemed-) authentic origin and the chain of recipients transmission by definition involved to have been a means of establishing leadership and legitimacy by the Chūin-ryū (中院流 lit. “Central Cloister Lineage”) branch of Shingon Buddhism at medieval Kōyasan. By examining the roles—as presented in textual, visual and ritual culture—of the presence and worship of ancestors, founders, deceased monks, and kami in transmission and in the legitimization of teachings and groups, I focus on formation of lineage and community.

Kōyasan’s worship of its local pre-Buddhist mountain kami, particularly those aspects apparent in its scholarly institutions, including debate rituals and the program of ritual, performative, and even "administrative" procedures that surround these are pervaded with the phenomena of manifestation (of divine beings) and practices of possession and performance. In order to show this, the textual record of an oracle produced through a possession forms a point of reference throughout this study - and I track its strange and

unexpected link to the practices undertaken by monks who participated in the first large-scale doctrinal debates at Kōyasan. Along the way, I discuss the paraphernalia and people that accompanied the development of these practices, including several paintings of the mountain kami, a once-obscure, then new and celebrated kami named Daishi Myōjin 大師明神, and the language and procedures of the Myōjin-kō (明神講 kami assembly). The debates represent the apex of knowledge transmission since they showcased the monks' scholarly finesse and mastery of the "original" ninth century teachings of Kūkai that the Chūin-ryū claimed had come down a pure line to them over some four to five hundred years. They also maintained this lineage as well as administrative order within the community by managing promotion and clerical rank.

The debates originally emerged from a volatile period in Kōyasan's history, a period of faction embattlement for a supremacy that was not only political but also scholarly, this being a stamp of prestige and moral authority. By the time the disputes were settled and the lineage "cleansed," new forms of kami had been ushered in and a full, grand debate inaugurated by one of the figures most involved in the organization of the community, Yūkai (宥快 1345-1416). Yet these debate ceremonies, and to some extent their precursors, were not only displays of scholarship and tools of community management. They were also an elaborate theatre of sorts, and reveal a choreography informed by particular ideas about kami, some of which stretched back to the time of the thirteenth century oracular possession at Henmyō'in 遍明院, and some of which are found in the medieval paintings of the kami, too.

The commonalities between the two issues of lineage/community-formation and possession/performance can make them mutually informative in a methodological sense. The permeability and boundaries of the body and of personhood can be recognized in a community, too; the fusion *with* and the expulsion *of* what is deemed foreign is common both to possession/exorcism and to the creation of lineage and community; and the ways in which modern Buddhism as a rational, mind-centered philosophy was constructed by relegating certain elements to the various "snail patches" (as Carmen Blacker has put it) of superstition and syncretism are also comparable to the "cleansing" of a religious tradition. In other words, the issues of orthodoxy-heterodoxy and of spirit possession are both to do with the process of inclusion or expulsion through the imposition of structures.

A further reason I undertake this subject is because a re-evaluation of "syncretism," considered perhaps too loosely as a fundamental characteristic of medieval Japanese religions, might be helpful. This is particularly in light of the greater emphasis recently on the recognition that the term and the conceptual tools it compels presuppose two or more entities distinct previous to their "fusion," which is a false premise. If we lift practices to do with Buddhist scholarship and knowledge transmission, for example, out of the realm of rationality they are expected to occupy and examine descriptions of teachings as "spirits," manifested kami as teachers, and possession as a valid method of transmission, all of which appear in medieval discourse, we might then claim that such knowledge practices are forms of corrupted and syncretic Buddhism. But this would be to join a tradition of scholars active in Europe and America in the nineteenth century and up to the present day who have parsed out the heresy, as they perceived it, from Buddhism to present a textual and classical, authentic and original tradition free of relics, rituals, vernacular traditions and so

on.[2] The term and concept of "syncretism" are also invested with political meaning. J.Z. Smith has observed that Mircea Eliade was rightwing in his pursuit of "unity" and "wholeness," while Umberto Eco lists syncretism as an element of Ur-Fascism. Without wishing to appropriate culture for political ends, a new look at "syncretism" in medieval Japanese religions can problematize these political readings. As Bernard Faure writes: "duality was constantly supplemented [by medieval Buddhists]" who made "relentless effort … to impose a dual structure on all kinds of religious ideas and practices." It was supplemented "not simply by tertiary structures but also by a more fluid dissemination that defies all attempts at unification."[3] We may reach an impasse in the attempt to unify, but it might be the endeavor that is misguided. The way that a body can be porous, the self dissociated in spirit possession; the way that lineages can branch out into unwieldy tangles; the way that boundaries material and otherwise can shift; the way that kami can bear a multitude of meanings and projections: all these, which make up this study of knowledge transmission, help us to understand, more than anything else, how the human players in this landscape tried to structure it so that their knowledge could move through it.

This study covers the latter part of the early medieval (c. 950-1300) to the late medieval period (c. 1300-1467). Two significant developments take place at this time which are contexts to the study. Firstly, changes in the understanding and worship of kami,

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[2] See Donald S. Lopez, *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995); Judith Snodgrass, Presenting Buddhism to the West: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and the Columbian Exposition (University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions, or How European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).

[3] Bernard Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon: Gods of Medieval Japan. Vol. 1,* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015, 317.

and secondly, the establishment of monastic halls and their cloisters (*inge* 院家) by aristocrats (later referred to as *monzeki* 門跡,but originally identified more closely with specific lineages). There was also an increasing splitting of lineages during this period, correlative to the increase of the cloisters, and which linked to the production of a large body of recorded oral transmissions (*kuden* 口伝) and lineage tables (*kechimyaku* 血脈), hagiographies, and scholarly works based on discussions of the teachings (*dangi* 談義). These fall under the umbrella of the genre *shōgyō* (聖経 "non-canonical" sacred works); the phenomena itself later dubbed *shōgyō shugi*[4] (聖経主義 "sacred works-ism" (as William E. Deal and Brian Ruppert translate it[5]). The sudden increase in production (which began in around the tenth century) of such works into large manuscript collections was a particular feature of esoteric temples. Ruppert and Deal explain the "mix of beliefs and interests" of the time and site as constituted by explanations of transmissions combined with "the imperative to construct lineages with distinctive knowledge as well as collections that attested to its authenticity."[6]

Brian Ruppert has pointed out that paying attention to *shōgyō* has methodological implications because it helps to shift an assumption that still stubbornly commands many interpretations of the framework of Japanese Buddhism. The principle framework according to these was that of its "schools" and the thought and textual works of their

[4] Kawakami Michio 川上通夫, *Nihon chūsei bukkyō shiryōron* 日本中世仏教史料論 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunken, 2008), 28.

[5] William E. Deal and Brian Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism* (West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 107.

[6] Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, 106-107.

founders (and often those of, ultimately, the historical Buddha Sakyamuni). However, the intellectual centers based at the cloisters and their output and objects of textual/oral study were often not sutras (or were based on them); were non-continental in origin; and were produced by or attributed to the past masters of their own lineages.[7] *Shōgyō* of such a kind would have been the products of the "great past masters" in attendance at the scholarly assembly held at Rengejō'in mentioned above.

This shift in understanding Japanese Buddhism can be borrowed to reframe subjects of study through the interpretation of site and space as well. Although academic studies that focus on site[8] (over individual founder, sect, and so on) emerged from the very recognition of the limitations of, and the specific historical (and socio-political) circumstances that produce/d (the above-mentioned) sect-focused history and the "monograph approach" to Japanese religions, and promised new insights by adjusting focus, they carried the risk of making the site itself a subject, a monolith. Mountains (or mountain ranges) are especially susceptible to this (the term "monolith" appropriate in its very meaning of "one stone"):

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[7] See, e.g. Brian O. Ruppert, "A Tale of Catalogs and Colophons: the Scope of Lineage, the Touch of the Master, and Discourses of Authenticity in Medieval Shingon Buddhism," in *Scholars of Buddhism in Japan: Buddhist Studies in the 21st Century* (*Japanese Studies Around the World* series), edited by James Baskind), 49-66 (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken), 2009) and Ruppert, "Mokuroku ni miru chūsei shingon mikkyō: jiin shōgyō sono denpan to hensen"目録にに見る中世真言密教〜寺院聖教その伝播と変遷 24-36.

[8] In the case of the study of Japanese religions, Alan Grapard's works are pioneering, and in his stead, D. Max Moerman's work on Kumano, Heather Blair's work, and that of many others have followed and changed the field in profound ways. More broadly, studies like Robin Cresswell's *Place* set out ways of understanding the concepts of place and space, and human/social geography. See Alan Grapard, "Lotus in the Mountain, Mountain in the Lotus: Rokugōkaizan Nimmon Daibosatsu hongi", *Monumenta Nipponica* 41: 20-50; D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimages and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2005); Heather Blair, *Real and Imagined: The Peak of Gold in Heian Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015) and Robin Cresswell, Place: An Introduction (London: Blackwell, 2014).

their enormity, their seeming immobility, and their rupturing from a less distinctly divided flatland provide the figurative force for this projection to be made. While studies focusing on place typically cite the "imaginary space" and cultural landscape of Henri LeFebvre and Edward Soja, that very figurative force of the subject can delimit it, and boundary-shiftings and transgressions, reconfigurations, and redistributions of the land which are inseparable from the religious imaginary are given insufficient attention. The territories belonging to the community of this complex expanded and constricted over the centuries while temples lost their material structures but continued to exist, or/and were absorbed into other temples. The cloister Henmyōin, which plays a central role in this dissertation, is one such institution.

This, also, is where a re-examination of kami can be useful and can help us to rethink their overruling characteristic, in Buddhism and other fields of doctrine and practice, as "syncretic". Kami are usually coterminous with place (except for those, generally speaking, that are deified humans), so talk of kami and their changing identities, functions, associations and so on, is often talk about changes in place-making. When we notice, to take examples relevant to the subject of this study, Niu Myōjin 丹生明神[9] identified at a certain point and by a certain institution as Wakahirume 稚日女 (Amaterasu's younger sister) when at Kōyasan, or as Sakyamuni (Jp. Shakamuni 釈迦牟尼) Buddha, when at the

[9] Unless I am referring to kami in post-Meiji *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離 (official separation of Buddhism from Shinto/kami worship contexts, I use their Buddhist names (that is, "Myōjin," meaning, a kami that casts light (of wisdom)". Niu Myōjin was generally referred to as Niutsuhime 丹生都比売 since the official separation of Buddhism and Shinto as a way of "returning" to the names used in pre-Buddhist texts, and still is by people associated with the shrine she is worshipped at. Distinctions are made for the same reasons regarding the name of the site: "Amano-sha" was renamed "Niutsuhime jinja" in the early Meiji period, and I follow the same logic regarding terminology choice in reference to site as I do in reference to names.

site of Amano-sha (both posited by Tōji 東寺 (Shingon) scholar monk Gahō in the thirteenth century), or Kariba Myōjin being given a human's name and a burial site in a Kii village (as found in the seventeenth century *Kawahari Myojin no Engi* 皮張明神縁起, discussed in Chapter 7), or explained as participating in a grand council of the gods in Izumo 出雲 (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 7), we are witnessing an expansion of place, and (relatedly) the association of one place/territory with another. And kami, as we see from the Gahō example above, could have different meanings simultaneously in different places. Kami are invoked (*kanjō* 勧請) from one site to another when these sites (often *shōen* 荘園 landed estates) became proprietorially linked. If *shōen* were declared as "kami land" or "temple land" they could be exempt from taxes, so religious institutions were often sought as sponsors. If the petition for exemption was accepted, the shrine in question would "split the spirit" (*bunrei* 分霊) of its kami and it would be invoked to the *shōen*, which would also often incorporate the kami of the new region.[10] "Oji" (王子 "princes") are themselves places; *kami* are themselves the shrines (*yashiro* 社, hokora 祠 etc) that mark sites. Temple landholding acquisitions too, may be said to have "extended" the section circumscribed for monastic practice (or to have shrunk it when lost); boundaries re-negotiated had the same effect. Kami are points on a map and are in certain contexts described in this way too, as alighting in certain spots, as travelling about, staking the ground to make place just as mythological rulers are described as doing. They can, in many ways, be considered as place markers.

[10] Helen Hardacre, *Shinto: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 135-6.

The character of the kami has, similarly, shifted about and the various discourses about them have been by no means unified or compatible. Incorporation into Buddhist thought and practice early on involved their characterization as sentient beings in need of—and themselves beseeching— monks for salvation. This developed into the *honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹 paradigm, appearing around the early 10th century and reaching an apex in the 13th, and numerous other ways to explain the relationship between buddhas and kami as well as distinctions between kami emerged, particularly during the medieval period, and often co-existed. The *gonshin* (権神 "transformed kami"), and *wakō dōshin* 和光同塵 (kami as buddhas who soften their emanations and appear in manifest form to "mingle with the dust" (suffering and unequal receptivity) of the samasaric world), as well as those who had attained different levels of Buddhist awakening within the *hongaku* 本覚 model of awakening (ie *fukaku* (不覚 unattained), *shikaku* (始覚 acquired), and *hongaku* (本覚 full attainment).[11] Meanwhile, the *jisshin* 実神; *jisshashin* 実社神; and *jitsurui* 実類 were all "actual kami" who were deemed a potential threat to be managed. This introduction does not provide room to delineate each of these but suffice it to say that these interpretations originated in specific lineages, the nobility, local communities, and so on. Some kami came to be considered legitimate deliverers of the Buddhist teachings rather than beings in need of enlightenment. It was they who were to instruct monks. And hence their connection to scholarship not only at Kōyasan but at other powerful temples of the time too. They were not only listeners, as the opening quote states: they became expert authorities on Buddhist doctrine and transmitters of knowledge. It is these gods to whom we will listen in this study.

[11] See Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, 150-51.

These multiple forms of shiftings are, figuratively, aptly illustrated by the site this study focuses on. Kōyasan offers a perfect example of a fluid space for even in its most basic conventional presentation, it is called "Mount Kōya" when it is, in fact, not a mountain itself, but a flat plain roughly encircled by peaks. This is why, today, its address locates Kōyasan *within* Kōyachō (高野町 Kōya Town). Using the word "mount" is not a mistranslation at all, but rather a misinterpretation resulting from the assumption that Kōyasan fits into a category that includes Hieizan 比叡山, Osorezan 恐山, Fujisan 富士山, and many other sacred mountains. It helps to look at the ways Kōyasan was referred to during the premodern period (depending on who is describing it): it was often simply called "Kongōbuji," 金剛峰寺 or just "Kōya" (today Kongōbuji signifies a specific temple which, as central administrative center, oversees all the other temples). Although originally Kongōbuji referred to the entire complex (and still in a sense serves this second simultaneous function), at a certain point it referred to a specific faction, and even to the branch named the Chūin-ryū.[12] William Londo notes that from the Heian period (平安 794-1185), maps do not show any temple named "Kongōbuji" (for example, the *Goshuin engi* 御手印縁起 map[13]), and that, as mentioned above, "apparently at that time the label Kongōbuji covered the entire complex, such that when visitors were said to pay their respects at Kongōbuji, it indicates a visit to the Chūin"…"the residence of the leadership of

[12] To be more precise, this was a sub-branch of the Ono-ryū branch, one of two (with the Hirosawa-ryu). From these two, multiple sub-branches emerged, as well as cloister-associated sub-sub-branches. I discuss these in Chapter 1, in the explanation of the Chūin-ryu.

[13] KDDZ 1, 1-4.

the complex and its administrative headquarters."[14] Kongōbuji was a name appellated to the two temples, Seiganji 青巌寺 and Kōzenji 興山寺, in their conjunct state in the Meiji period. Londo may well be correct that Chūin was an actual location that people visited and was called "Kongōbuji" (if so, this is important in that it indicates the height of power the Chūin-ryū had reached during the period when pilgrimage flourished) since it was/is said to have been the original residence of Kūkai, but this needs further verification. The point of explaining here the locations, moves, and the ways in which the names of institutions were used, is to draw attention to the mutability of place (-making), boundaries, and names (including those of kami, a subject I will examine further in the character of the kami Daishi Myōjin 大師明神) who were related to these mutable places. It may be said that when it comes to distinguishing one kami for another in a "syncretistic" system, it has been easy to mistake map for territory.

Kōyasan must be seen as similar to the temple communities on non-mountainous land that had/have a "san" ("mountain") appellations (*sango* 山号); temple gates are also called "sanmon" 山門. This naming is thought to have derived from that applied to Chinese Zen temples; the (pre-Zen) seven "great" temples of Nara, for instance, did not have "san" names. But, earlier than this, the mountain names may also be related to, essentially, non-Buddhist ideas about dead spirits and their mountain destinations;[15] to "popular" practices concerning agricultural and water or rain-related kami that accompany that, and to temple

[14] William Londo, *The Other Mountain: The Mt. Kōya Temple Complex in the Heian Era* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2004), 41-42.

[15] See Ichiro Hori, "Mountains and their Importance for the Idea of the Other World in Japanese Folk Religion," *History of Religion* 6, 1 (1966): 1-23.

practices for the dead (and for rebirth), including their graveyards. "Yama" (*san* 山) can mean simply "temple", as is attested by, for example, the 1168 document referring to the "Primary Temples" as *motoyama* 本山.[16] Certainly by the medieval period, Kōyasan was frequently using the term "Southern mountain/s" (*Nanzan* 南山) to refer to itself (in the titles of texts such as *Nanzan yōshū* 南山要集, *Nanzan meireishū* 南山名霊集, or *Nanzan hachiyo no hiji* 南山八葉秘事, and countless *komonjo* 古文書 (the general term for "old (official) documents"). This term was used by writers of the Heian period to refer to both the "set" of closely located pilgrimage sites, Kumano 熊野, Kinpusen 金峰山, and Kōyasan, but also to refer sometimes to just one.[17]

As with the shiftings of the institutional sites that occupied it, and the *kami* that moved through its possessed territory, the naming of Kōyasan in English has a methodological implication since in being understood as a distinct monolith, the fluid nature of its relationship with its surroundings and other mutual influences may easily be overlooked.[18] To sum up, the instability of physical boundaries, the contingencies of history as they pertain to the concept of the kami, the shift from a focus on schools, their founders, and their founding texts, to the production of new manuscripts (many from oral

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[16] The *nijūhachi honzan mokuroku* ("Index of the 28 Main Temples") is referred to by Allan G. Grapard in *Mountain Mandalas: Shugendo in Kyushu* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), 65, from Nakano Hatayoshi, *Usagū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1985), 100.

[17] See Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 4, and Wakamori Tarō 和歌森太郎 *Shugendōshi kenkyū* 修験道史研究 (Tōyo bunkō 東洋文庫 211), (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1972), 78.

[18] See Kikuchi Hiroki 菊地大樹, *Kamakura bukkyō e no michi: jissen to shugaku, shinjin no keifu* 鎌倉仏教への道〜実践と修学・信心の系譜 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2011), 11-16 on this "fluidity," (which is cited in Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, 96).

transmissions) helps in this study to consider the instability of lineages themselves and the passage of their knowledge, and the ways in which these were formed and maintained.

During the thirteenth century, the Kongōbuji faction of monks at Kōyasan was actively pursuing three major, interrelated projects. The first was independence from Tōji and Ninnaji 仁和寺, both important centers of Shingon Buddhism located in the imperial capital (today called Kyoto). Kongōbuji was the *matsuji* 末寺, or branch temple, of Tōji, but although Tōji's leader *ichi-no-chōja* (一長者) was also the *zasu* (座主) leader of Kongōbuji, by the 1270s, the *kengyō* (検校 superintendent) of Kōyasan had taken over most of the responsibilities (at its own site) of Tōji's *chōja* – a move in part facilitated by the geographical space that divided the two centers. In establishing its independence, Kōyasan itself could move toward its aspiration of becoming a *kenmon jiin* (権門寺院 "temple gate of power," or "power bloc"). Such temples (and shrines) shared rule of the country between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries with the warrior aristocracy (武家 *buke*) and the court (公家 *kuge*). There was a mutually dependent relationship between the three groups.[19] Although it had a link to the court by virtue of its connection to Tōji, which was responsible for the provision of certain imperial rituals, Kōyasan nonetheless pursued independence. It turned its attention from power in, or in connection with, the capital to power over the local landed estates and other territories, and was highly focused on its regional interests. This began in real seriousness from around 1256 onward.[20] In tandem

[19] This model of "gates of power" (*kenmon taisei* 権門体制) was proposed by historian Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 in 1963.

[20] Yamakage Kazuo 山陰加春夫 *Chūsei jiin to akutō* 中世寺院と悪党 (Osaka: Seibundō 誠文堂, 2006), 131-32.

with this re-construction of power, monks of the Chūin-ryū of Kōyasan's Shingon sought control over administrative positions. Such positions were essentially based on a relationship to the founder Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師[21] Kūkai: a tracing *back* by legitimatizing lineage to him, and a drawing *toward* him through residence in certain locations; re-enactments related to him; possessions and oracles; and "travel" to the Tosotsuten 兜率天 (Sk. Tusita) of Miroku 弥勒 (Maitreya) bodhisattva, where he was believed to be residing. These were the province of the Chūin-ryū (not exclusively, but purposively claimed by them in the Kōyasan-centric texts and teachings they produced and transmitted), and also strategies in their project to dominate the top administrative position of *kengyō*, and therefore Kōyasan and its lands.

One important means of attaining high rank at Kōyasan, as at other prominent Buddhist institutions, was participation in doctrinal debate. The monks of Kōyasan have performed formal, ritualized doctrinal debates (*Rongi* 論義) for over six hundred years. These debates are components of a monastic educational program and they functioned (and still function) as a system for awarding clerical status and maintaining institutional hierarchy. However, one of their most intriguing aspects is the apparent use of kami invocations (*kanjō*), kami manifestations (*yōgō* 影向), oracles (*takusen* 託宣), and spirit possession (*hyōi* 憑依*; kamigakari* 神懸かり) involving both the mountain kami that had

[21] According to context, the founder Kūkai is more appropriately referred to as "Kōbō Daishi" ("Great Master of Spreading the Dharma"), the title awarded him posthumously by the court in 921 (Engi 延喜 21). It is conventionally used in scholarship to refer to the figure of the founder as he came to be portrayed in mythologies, hagiographies, and practice. "Kūkai" is reserved for discussion of the "historical" figure. I follow these conventions.

awarded Kōyasan's founder with land for his temple site,[22] and also deceased masters of the sect. Various debates[23] as well as *Mondo-kō* (問答講 catechism; dialogue form assemblies) were performed as regular offerings to the kami (*Shinbōraku* 神法楽), and these were and still are fundamental aspects of kami worship. They are more than simple offerings to passive recipients. The candidates of the most prestigious debates engaged in practices that resemble possession-related procedures or involve invocations of kami for oracular procurement when preparing for their debuts, are said to represent the kami, and even take on the names of the kami. The debate participants are elected into what is called the "elders' kami confraternity" (*Shukurō Myōjin-kō* 宿老明神講),[24] a confraternity of high-ranked priests qualified to engage in a particular kind of kami worship. All this suggests, again, that the debates were not only a display of scholarly finesse between members of the monastic community, or a method of organizing clerical promotion (though they were both these things) but also that, in some sense, they were a demonstration of, or even constituted, an interaction between humans and otherworldly beings.

How can this be explained when doctrinal debate and the phenomena of oracles and possessions are conventionally unrelated? Scholars have considered formal, trained-for Buddhist debate as the pinnacle of a systematic, rational intellectual tradition while

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[22] And were incorporated as protectors of the site and sect.

[23] Broadly, debates and discussions of Dharma are called *hōdan rongi* 法談論義.

[24] There is another, separate *Myōjin-kō* which takes place monthly, and one of these held annually is a special "Hiki-myōjin-kō" 引明神講 which is hosted by the deputy head of Kōyasan before he withdraws to become promoted to head (Hōin 法印). See Chapters 6 and 7 on the variety of *Myōjin-kō* and their significance.

possession and oracles are confined to the realm of the mystical and often spontaneous, and of "irrational knowledge," and the two have not been recognized as having any connection to each other. But a study of the beliefs and practices of medieval Kōyasan reveals that there was a connection—and that it was crucial—because beliefs pertaining to the attainment of superior knowledge from kami (as well as deceased Buddhist masters and bodhisattvas) were vitally important in the pre-modern Buddhist arena. As mentioned, these transcendental beings were considered teachers. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that the debates were in some way reconstructions of an original, ideal, teaching situation, although this was neither explicit nor operate on a logic of analogy. It was likely Kōyasan's expression of a medieval ideology of Buddhist debate that can be found elsewhere as well, in other institutions such as Hieizan[25] and Kōfukuji 興福寺, Kōyasan's models of great, powerful temples, and their models for scholarship, as well as, quite simply, the repetition that continuation of tradition requires. The debates, in fact, quite concretely illuminate its exchanges with a Nara-based temple Kōfukuji: it based its debate procedures on Kōfukuji's Yuima-e 維摩会 (Vimalakīrti Assembly), and Jion-ne 慈恩会 ([Memorial] Assembly for [Patriarch] Jion [Daishi]), and the Hokke-e 法華会 of Hieizan (a.k.a. Enryakuji 延暦寺). By addressing its connection with Kōfukuji in the areas of its study of the debate system, kami worship, and patriarch worship, I suggest that Kōyasan was bound into a nexus of sites and ideologies far broader than is commonly assumed.

[25] See Paul Groner, Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002) and "Training Through Debates in Medieval Tendai and Seizan-ha Temples," Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 38, 2 (2011): 233-261. Also, Takayama Yuki 高山有紀 *Chūsei Kōfukuji Yuima-e no kenkyū* 中世興福寺維摩会の研究 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan 勉誠出版, 1997) and further detail in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

The debates and their accompanying ritual protocols were also combined, perhaps at a later time, with a conventional ritual enactment of the encounter between clan ancestral deity and founder. This came to be embedded in a culture that viewed kami as transmitters of Shingon teachings, and because legitimate transmission was imperative for maintaining lineage, this re-enactment had everything to do with leadership and power. By questioning the presuppositions that wedge a divide between "rational" and "occult" practices,[26] and between buddhas and kami, a newly nuanced picture of pre-modern[27] Japanese religious practice may emerge. To this end, showing the general role the kami played in legitimizing sectarian power with the complementary histories and functions of Kōyasan's pre-modern scholarship/doctrinal debates and possessions/oracles as the most explicit example of this role, is the broad objective of this dissertation.

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[26] The focus on rationality is one that has attracted intense attention in recent scholarship and more popular writings on Buddhism. It emerged with the earlier presentations of Buddhism in the west, explained in (for example) Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, but more recently was popularized by the Dalai Lama's *The Universe in a Single Atom: The Convergence of Science and Spirituality* (New York: Morgan Road Books, 2005). Donald S. Lopez Jr. explored this "convergence" in *Buddhism and Science: A Guide for the Perplexed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Bernard Faure takes critical issue with the way in which the relationship between neuroscience and Buddhism have been thus far been examined and also points a finger, justifiably, to vested interests behind research undertaken and published (Bernard Faure, "A Gray Matter: Another look at Buddhism and neuroscience," *Tricycle* https://tricycle.org/magazine/gray-matter/, accessed November 22nd, 2017 (Winter, 2012)).

[27] Periodization is always debatable. The "pre-modern" period in Japan is normally taken to encompass the years up to 1868. This is too broad a swathe of time for this dissertation and I intend to focus mainly on the Kamakura (鎌倉 1185-1333) and Muromachi periods (室町 1333-1568), with some reference to later developments. I am uncertain about using the term "medieval" instead, since it is over-determined and highly problematic, and "pre-modern" allows more room for maneuver; moreover, I am uncomfortable using a period-construct at all to categorize the subject. I agree with Carol Gluck that the terms "pre-modern" and "early-modern" both promote problematic teleological assumptions. See Carol Gluck, "The End of Elsewhere: Writing Modernity Now," *The American Historical Review* 116. 3 (2011) 676-687, 679-680, fn. 18.

To do so, I focus on the scholarly Chūin-ryū branch and I draw heavily, as mentioned, on the Chūin-ryū text, the 1251 *Henmyō-in Daishi Myōjin Go-Takusenki*, an extensive record of information delivered during an oracular possession at Kōyasan, related (and by some attributed) to a highly-ranked scholar monk of the time, Dōhan 道範 (1178/9-1252).[28] Around this I weave the history and development of power struggles at Kōyasan. I give examples from textual accounts (chronicles, diaries, popular tales) and visual culture to show that the discourse of teaching transmission and of debate was immersed in a culture of kami manifestation and monk-kami interactions that included possession practices. This approach is also taken to show that clerical hierarchy, as determined by the debate system, itself was interlinked with identifications with transcendental figures like Kōbō Daishi, the mountain kami, and Miroku bodhisattva. Moreover, it was the scholarly Chūin-ryū lineage of Shingon at Kōyasan that was responsible, in 1407, for instituting the major debate ritual, the Rissei Rongi 竪精論義, and we find these same ideas embedded within their history and self-presentation.

The production of *Takusenki* was produced by and intimately connected with this sub-branch, and the text became part of its collection of *shōgyō*. Sections of the contemporary corpus of Chūin-ryū texts are found in inscriptions on the primary paintings of the kami that were likely linked to scholarship and clerical hierarchy, indicating another

[28] Also called Kakuhonbō 覚本房. After becoming head priest of Shōchi'in 正智院 in 1234 he was often referred to by the name of his residence). A monograph of this important figure in Shingon history has not been produced in any language but amid references in general Kōyasan histories, significant work by Nakamura Honnen 仲村本然 and by Satō Mona 佐藤もな exclusively on Dōhan's thought exists in Japanese, and Aaron Proffitt's unpublished dissertation *Dōhan and Medieval Kōyasan Pure Land Culture* (University of Michigan, 2015) on Dōhan's doctrinal exegeses and its historical-philosophical background.

relationship between this group and the kami. The 1251 *Takusenki* not only delineates the character of the kami Daishi Myōjin more explicitly than in any other material extant, demonstrating a claim by the Chūin-ryū on this imposing entity, it also gives historical background to the period under discussion and engages issues of debate, possession, syncretism, and monastic authority. Because of these aspects and the richness of the text I have chosen to focus on it as a principle source, drawing upon it throughout (rather than dedicating to it an independent chapter).

A number of the leading scholar monks of thirteenth century Kōyasan, including the acclaimed Dōhan, were of the Chūin-ryū branch and it was figures of this branch who both produced and who feature in the *Takusenki.* Their teachings were decidedly "Kōyasan-centric" including many that were specifically about the mountain complex's terrain, its history and sacredness, and its significance as located within the infinitely wider Buddhist cosmos. For these monks, Ryūkō'in 竜光院 (originally called Chūin) and Henmyō'in cloisters seem to have been focal locations within the temple complex because of their perceived connection with the early years of Kōyasan: Ryūkō'in was understood as having been Kūkai's residence and Henmyō'in, next to it, that of his disciple, Shinnyo 真如. Nearby was Shōchi'in 正智院, residence of Dōhan. The output of new theories about Kōbō Daishi and the kami by the Chūin-ryū coincides with their actual rise to power and authority at Kōyasan (with, for example, the installation of Ryōnin (良任) as *kengyō* and Dōhan as *shugyō-dai* (執行代 "deputy *kengyō*") in 1237. Ryōnin was head priest of Injō'in

引摂院 (also situated near Henmyō'in; in later times the latter merged with it).[29] Both cloisters were centers for Chūin-ryū teachings and both monks were founders of Chūin-ryū sub-branches.

Why have the links between scholarship/debate and the kami not been fully acknowledged? A number of reasons can be proposed for this. The content of the debates has attracted some interest for what they tell us of doctrinal history, logic, and epistemology, (as has the *shōmyō* 声明 vocal style in which they are performed, which is distinctive to Kōyasan). The relationship between debates and clerical promotion has also drawn attention, though not as much as that between the debates of the Nara temples and promotion. One reason for the neglect of the link between debates and kami may be that the chanting of sutras to kami (*dokyō* 読経) (constituting the transmission of doctrinal knowledge to them) is understood as having been performed from an early period as one-sided offerings, required in order to "convert" kami to Buddhism. The kami are as such relegated to the position of a somewhat passive audience instead of being recognized as an active component in a ritual practice. This draws on early narratives of the construction of *jingūji* 神宮寺 temples in shrines in which kami request salvation. This understanding has continued to be pervasive in characterizing the relationship between kami worship and

[29] It had been founded by an imperial prince and follower of Kūkai, and named after him, but had moved at some point from the Hon-Chūindani district (本中院谷) to Rengedani 蓮華谷 and then moved once more to a nearby plot of land that is now incorporated into the expansive Shōjōshin'in 清浄心院. Henmyō'in's buildings were taken over without alteration by Injō'in 引摂院, sometime after the end of Meiji period, who relocated to Henmyō'in's original site. These buildings were situated in what is today part of Ryūkō'in's land (Mizuhara Gyōei 水原堯榮, *Kōyasan no Chūin o meguru: Shikei no konjaku* 高野山の中院をめぐる～四谷の今昔 (Wakayama: Kōyasan shuppansha 高野山出版社,1956) 37. It burned down several times and was not rebuilt.

Buddhism, even though this relationship—as well as the character of the kami (and Buddhist beings)—has been conceived, over time and up to the present day, in a bewildering range of ways.[30] Previous studies by Horita 堀田真快, Mizuhara Gyōei 水原堯榮, Toganoo Shōun 栂尾祥雲, Hinonishi Shinjō 日野西眞定, and Shizuka Jien 静慈圓, focus on Kōyasan's *Mondō* and *Rongi*.[31] However, as far as I am aware, none bar Hinonishi investigates in any detail the debates within the context of contemporary beliefs about the kami.

[30] This is well-demonstrated and discussed in the 2015 publications of Bernard Faure's *The Fluid Pantheon: Gods of Medieval Japan* and *Protectors and Predators: Gods of Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press) but studies by Allan Grapard, Mark Teeuwan, John Breen, Fabio Rambelli, Iyanaga Nobumi, Yamamoto Hiroko, and others, have also shown this.

[31] Horita Shinkai 堀田真快 *Kōyasan Kongōbuji* 高野山金剛峯寺 (Tokyo: Gakuseisha 学生社, 1972); Toganoo Shōun 栂尾祥雲 *Nihon mikkyō gakudōshi* 日本密教学道史 (Toganoo Shōun zenshū 6 栂尾祥雲全集 6 (Tokyo: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1982); Hinonishi Shinjō 日野西眞定, "Kōyasan no sō ga okonau chinju myōjin no saishi: toku ni o-tō no shinji ni tsuite" 高野山の僧が行う鎮守明神の祭祀—特にお頭の神事について, *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 299 (1994): 243-244; Hinonishi Shinjō, "Amano no Yanagisawa Myōjin: toku ni Kōya Myōjin to no kanren ni tsuite" 天野の柳沢明神－特に高野明神との関連について—, *Sangaku shugen* 7 山岳修験 7 (1991-1992): 75-90; Hinonishi Shinjō, "Kongōbuji no nenjū gyōji: toku ni okoromogae ni tsuite" 金剛峯寺の年中行事—特に御衣替について—, *Kōgakkan daigaku Shinto kenkyūju kiyō* 14 皇学館大学神道研究所紀要 14 (1998): 1-37; Hinonishi Shinjō, "Sangaku reijō ni matsurareru kami to hotoke: toku ni Kōyasan no baai"山岳霊場に祀られる神と仏—特に高野山の場合—, in *Sei naru mono no katachi to ba* 聖なるものの形と場, ed. Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏 (Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2004): 470-489; Shizuka Jien 静慈圓, "Kōyasan no rongi: Sannōin shōjin no honkō rongi 高野山の論義—山王院精進の本講論義—, *Rongi no kenkyū* 論議の研究 ed. Chisankangakukai 智山勧学会(Tokyo: Seishi shuppan, 2000): 159-84; and Kōyasan Reihōkan ed., "Okuno'in, Garan keikan zu o yū suru Kōbō Daishi miezu ni tsuite"奥之院・伽藍景観図を有する弘法大師御影図について in *Danjō garan to Okunoin: Kōyasan no kokuhō, Kii sanchi no reijō to sankeidō* 壇上伽藍と奥之院：高野山の国宝：紀伊山地の霊場と参詣道, (Wakayama: Kōyasan Reihōkan 高野山霊宝館, 2001): 143-162.

The greater part of research on Kōyasan's kami has focused on the shrines and their communities prior to the construction of Kongōbuji. It examines the connections between Kongōbuji and Amano-sha 天野社, the foothill-based worship site designated the "protector" of Kongōbuji and incorporated into its Buddhist complex; the origin tale (*engi* 縁起) of Kongōbuji's founding; and Kūkai's own kami worship and affiliations, as well as his apotheosis.[32] There has been some limited discussion of the painted representations of the kami together with Kōbō Daishi (in sets, or in a single painting together) as icons related to debates in the works of Kageyama Haruki 景山春樹, Gorai Shigeru, and Kadoya Atsushi 門屋温.[33] However the situation regarding the production, specific function, and full significance of these paintings remains unclear. A survey of the history of medieval Kōyasan indicates various developments in kami worship from the end of the Heian period (794-1185) to the Muromachi period (1333-1573). The identities and meanings of the two most important kami enshrined at Kōyasan, Niu Myōjin (also called Niutsuhime 丹生都比売 or 丹生津比売) and Kōya Myōjin 高野明神(also called Kariba Myōjin and later Yōgō Myōjin 影向明神 ("manifestation Myōjin")), were worked and re-worked in texts

[32] Nakagawa Zenkyō 中川善教, "Kōbō Daishi no honji to zenshin oyobi sono goshin" 弘法大師の本地と前身及びその後身, *Mikkyō kenkyū* 51 密教研究 (1933-1934): 329-357, and Hinonishi Shinjō. "The Hōgō (Treasure Name) of Kōbō Daishi and Beliefs Associated with It," *Japanese Religions*, 27. 1(2002): 5-18.

[33] Kageyama Haruki 景山春樹, "Kōyasan ni okeru Kōya Niu ryō Myōjin" 高野山における高野丹生両明神, *Bukkyō geijutsu* 57 仏教芸術 57, Mainichi shinbunsha 毎日新聞社, 1965), 74-87 and 1976; Gorai Shigeru, "Shugendo Lore," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16. 2/3 (1989): 117-142; Kōyasan Reihōkan ed., *Danjō Garan to Okuno'in, Kōyasan no Kokuhō*; and Kadoya Atsushi 門屋温 Niutsuhime shōkō 丹生都比売小考 *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 8 東洋の思想と宗教 8 (1991): 40-54.

produced by scholar monks (*gakuryo* 学侶) during the period when the debates were re-systematized after a period of decline, so attention to the precise function in historical context of the kami in these rituals, which I undertake in this study, can contribute to general knowledge of Kōyasan.

It is also possible to determine the significance of the links by taking an approach which requires examining time periods and sites not normally brought together, and making comparisons between practices not usually seen in conjunction. These include comparing institutionalized, formal, elite rituals requiring considerable resources (ceremonies called *hō-e* 法会) with (often) less official, sometimes "informally ritualized" possession and oracles undergone or practiced by less privileged members of society, and focusing on "peripheral" (preparatory, post-event, processions, etc) practices rather than the central ritual debate in isolation. The central debate (in other institutions) has been the focus of, for example, Groner, previously mentioned, and Mikael Bauer,[34] whose work, along with that of scholars such as Takayama (1997) provides a bedrock of detailed information. Shizuka (mentioned above) has published on Kōyasan's main debate ritual. My own interest, on the other hand, is primarily the ideology upon which the debate systems' rationale and choreography was based and expressed, rather than the doctrinal content it involved. I will be focusing on "the periphery" throughout not only in terms of the ritual procedures attendant to the debate but also in terms of location. The reason for this is that, for example, the kinds of possession rituals that seem to have been adapted for the debates are ones that

[34] Mikael Bauer, "Yuime-e as Theatre of the State," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 38 (2011): 161-179 and "The Absence of the private: The Jion-e (*sic*) and public ritual in premodern Japan," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, third series 16 (2014): 65-85.

appear to have been practiced at village oracle festivals (*takusen matsuri* 託宣祭り).[35] The practice of worship between figures of authority in the foothill locales strongly resembles the debate-related practices at Kōyasan. The ways in which religiosity was expressed beyond "Buddhist officialdom" and the institution has often been ignored in historical research on religion in Japan, a tendency pushed back at by Lori Meeks, for example, in her work on *miko* (巫女 female spirit mediums and officiants at shrines).[36] In my research it has become clear that imposing a divide between Kōyasan's temple community and the local lay communities would obscure the shape of the development of the debates (and many other aspects of practice and thought).

All this is not an attempt to demonstrate that despite all assumptions to the contrary possession rituals and oracles "in fact" follow a "rational process." It is important that the objective of bringing into conversation debates and possession/oracles does not promote a notion of rationality that has been touted in recent literature, much of it aimed at a popular audience, as supported or even foreshadowed by Buddhism, nor that it de-historicizes spirit possession, or reifies both of these by presenting them together with "rationality" as a dichotomy. By working with specific cases of possession and of debate, the risk of de-historicization can be reduced. The presentation of Buddhism as essentially a rational philosophy, compatible with "science," is one that has already been touched upon. On the

[35] These are very rarely held today with the exception of, for example, the *gohōsai* 護法祭 at Ryōzanji 両山寺, which Carmen Blacker discusses in "Divination and Oracles in Japan," in *Collected Writings of Carmen Blacker* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

[36] Meeks, Lori. The Disappearing Medium: Reassessing the Place of Miko in the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan, *History of Religions* 50, 3, 2011, pp. 208-260.

other hand, this work might help destabilize the modern preoccupation with the category of religious experience, an issue taken up by Sharf.[37] While at first blush it seems itself to counter the picture of Buddhism as a rational philosophy, it is in fact the other side of the same coin, essentially serving the (often "western") aims of those who cultivate and consume the picture. In this sense I align with Groner's point that although "some scholars make a distinction between intellectual activities [i.e. debates] and practices such as meditation and ritual, for Ninkū [仁空 , a fourteenth century monk involved with monastic intellectual training] intellectual study clearly shaped the monk."[38]

I also resist readings of debate (and possession) as strategy of political power, a "theater of state" or an aspect of inter-temple/inter-sect competition, readings with which Neil McMullin,[39] Asuka Sango,[40] Bauer, and Groner have engaged (and in the case of spirit possession, Doris G. Bargen[41]). It should be noted that both debates and possessions have been seen as "mere" ritual or performance (in the sense of inauthenticity). Certainly the theater-of-state reading is justified in the foci of their (and my) studies, but it can also be

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[37] Robert H. Sharf, "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience," *Numen* 42. 3 (1995): 228-283.

[38] Groner, "Training Through Debates in Medieval Tendai and Seizan-ha Temples," 238. On the other hand, at Kōyasan, the development of debates after the conflict between Daidenbo'in and Kongōbuji, resulted in the division of practice and doctrine and those who specialized in each (Ryūichi Abe, *From Kūkai to Kakuban: A Study of Shingon Buddhist Transmission (*Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1991), 342).

[39] Neil McMullin, "Historical and Historiographical Issues in the Study of Pre-Modern Japanese Religions," *Journal of Japanese Religious Studies* 16.1 (1989): 3-40.

[40] Asuka Sango, "Buddhist Debate and the Production and Transmission of Shōgyō in Medieval Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 39.2 (2012): 241-273.

[41] Doris G. Bargen, *A Woman's Weapon: Spirit Possession in The Tale of Genji*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.

reductive if this is the only interpretation offered. And so in addition to considering the political aspects and placing the case of Kōyasan against those these scholars have examined in their works, I also shed light on the ways in which the hypothetical "debate-possessions" grew out of and subsequently produced a certain ritual and visual culture.

In summary, this dissertation seeks to clarify the links between kami and knowledge transmission and its display at pre-modern Kōyasan from the viewpoint of cultural history, which will include literature, popular and orthodox beliefs and practices, and visual materials. I seek to show that the knowledge transmission and ceremonies such as doctrinal debates were informed by (and *interlock* with) ideas and practices of manifestations, spirit possession and oracles, and to do so, I examine not only the scholarship and debate-related rituals, but also customs and practices of non-monastic local communities. I propose that doctrinal discussions were not only (often high ceremonial) performances or educational institutions, they were rituals intended to maintain the legitimate passing down of tradition. Because of this, they involved concern with the contentious issues of heresy, authority, and the "true" teachings of founder Kūkai. In these senses, the attainment of doctrinal knowledge (whether through a living or a deceased teacher, or through a transcendental being) interlocked with the phenomena and practices of possession and manifestation. And between the thirteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, the Chūin-ryū focused efforts in these particular areas for the sake of their "true lineage," and relatedly, for the attainment and monopolization of power and wealth. I support this contention with textual, ritual, and visual evidence.

The subject in all its broadness can also be considered within the context of a "pre-modern" Japanese understanding of Buddhist Pure Lands (*jōdo* 浄土)which could be both

visited during human life and posthumously reborn into, and where one would be direct audience to a buddha by joining its teaching assemblies. The necessity of being in the presence of a teacher, to listen to lectures, to hear the teachings, and thus to receive transmissions is generally shared across Buddhist traditions, but during a period marked by *mappō* 末法 mentality (based on a notion of the extinction of the Dharma), along with a focus on a deified founder (Kūkai as "Kōbō Daishi") ever present in eternal meditation, this sense of necessity had a particular urgency at Kōyasan in the early medieval period. However, until now, the scarcity of studies (in English) of Kōyasan's educational and debate culture notwithstanding, attention to the importance in this culture of deceased masters and kami has been almost nil in any language. This study is intended to, in some small ways, redress that gap.

2. Overview of Chapters

1) *Early Medieval Kōyasan, Site of Esoteric Shingon Buddhism in Japan: A General Introduction*

2) In *Administrating in His Absence: The Chūin-ryū in the Institutional History of Kōyasan* I provide a survey of the literature that has dealt with Kōyasan as a site during this time, as a subject in the history of Japanese Buddhism, and which is of relevance to the subjects of kami, scholarship and legitimacy, in order to situate my

subject. Following this, I introduce the issues of lineage and legitimacy in Buddhism (both the issues as internal to traditions and as the concepts of them have impacted on the scholarly and wider understandings of Buddhism). I then narrow in on these issues in Buddhism in Japan. I introduce the Chūin-ryū during early medieval Kōyasan, its monopoly of the highest monastic rank (*kengyō*) in the thirteenth century, and the accompanying contestation of this monopoly.

3) In *"Homesick Spirits": Exile, Soul-summoning, and the Retention of Embodied Teachings in* Takusenki, I examine an incident of arson that exemplifies the contentious sectarian situation and discuss the background conflicts between Kongōbuji and Daidenbō'in 大伝法院, the two factions into which Kōyasan was at this point divided, along with exiles that resulted. I begin with an excerpt from the *Henmyō'in Daishi Myōjin Go-Takusenki*, giving historical and production background to the text that supplements that provided in this introduction, that explains the arson and exiles. I contrast this account with other accounts from those of the contemporary to those of the Edo period. I explain the organization of Kōyasan to open a discussion of monastic hierarchy, status, and power struggles. I offer related information on objects of devotion and how they were worshipped (Aizen Myōō 愛染明王 and Fudō Myōō 不動明王). These aspects, including those of visual culture, are important to discuss as a whole and in tandem because, firstly, they underlay and gave justificatory meaning to the conflicts; secondly, they are integral to understanding Kōyasan at this point in its history as a complex mass of often competing lineages; and thirdly, they tie the *Takusenki* to the conflicts, the

figures at the center of the latter, and to the topic that will come to be of greater importance later on: that of authoritative transmission. The discussion of monastic hierarchy, status, and power struggles leads to:

4) *The Oracle at Henmyō'in* and the claim, made by Yūkai, that the oracle was intended to legitimize a monk named Yūshin (祐信. Dates unknown). The dangers of lineage disintegration are here explored from not the angle of exile but from that of the non-transmission of teachings. I place this specific case within the broader context of oracular possession in premodern Japan.

5) *The Kongōbuji Kami Mandala: Paintings of Kami, the Discourse of Decline, and the Legitimation of the Chūin-ryū Lineage*, is a consideration of visual culture in the form of several paintings loosely associated with scholarship but the function of which have never been definitively understood. I examine the ways in which authority could be achieved through visual culture by pictorially linking kami to lineage figures, and look at a set of takusen inscribed on two significant paintings of the kami worshipped at Kōyasan which strongly indicates the connection of the paintings to the Chūin-ryū and to one scholar monk in particular: Shinken (信堅 1259-1322). Shinken was a scholarly successor to Dōhan and his group, including Shōso (尚祚 (? – 1245), and brother of another of the cohort, Shinnichi ((信日時 ?-1307). Dōhan and Shōso were intimately involved with the exiles and the immediate subsequent disquiet in the Kongōbuji community. The works of them

(including Shōso's *Myōjin kōshiki* 明神講式), and of Shinnichi, are quoted in the inscriptions on the paintings, a point to which I return in more depth in Chapter 7. The takusen inscriptions also reveal notions of the Pure Land (namely Miroku's Tosotsuten), considered a kind of Pure Land by Japanese monks) current at Kōyasan;[42] the importance of living on the mountain (reflecting fear of a desertion and decline that had occurred in the past, a fear to which attention was drawn in Chapter 2); and newly impressed rules (a common characteristic of takusen). They showcase the power of the Chūin-ryū and what they hoped to convey as their distinguished lineage, and thus the legitimacy of their authority at Kōyasan. Drawing on textual sources as well as changes in scholar-monks' clothing related to Shinnichi, I also discuss the dramatic iconographical changes for the kami that took place in the thirteenth century. These changes are linked with scholarship, and specifically with debates. The origin of Kariba Myōjin's new iconography was attributed to Dōhan's reported doctrinal discussions with that kami while the origin of that of Niu Myōjin was similarly attributed to a manifestation for the purpose of instructing Chūin-ryū monk Yūkai on his Buddhist study. The iconographical changes are further explicable in the context of a contemporary discourse regarding transgressive pride in monastic scholarship and one that sometimes intersected with it regarding the depiction of otherwise self-concealing kami who manifested themselves to monks. This discourse is especially found in tales related to Kōfukuji,

[42] Tosotsuten is prominent in the record, indicating the importance of Miroku (Maitreya) worship. It is the fourth of six heavens in the world of desire (Sk. *kāma-dhātu*; Jp. *yokkai* 欲界) in the Buddhist cosmology and the residence of Miroku bodhisattva, the "future buddha". In Japan, this heaven consists of forty-nine "abodes".

the mighty and much older center of debate culture in Nara. The iconography ultimately reflects the rising prestige of scholarship at an increasingly powerful Kōyasan. Through a comparative study of texts and images, it is concluded that the takusen-inscribed paintings utilizing "old" iconography were likely originally used in the *Myōjin-kō* and that the newer iconography was employed in the pre-debate ritual practices.

6) In *Reading "Daishi Myōjin": Kōbō Daishi as Patriarch, Buddha, and Kami* I discuss the apotheosis of Kūkai as Daishi Myōjin, source of the *Takusenki* oracle and amalgamation of two previously distinct kami and two apotheosized patriarchs. Today, this kami is now "extinct" and almost unknown at Kōyasan. I also examine the function of kami that punish and discipline, a function that Daishi Myōjin was employed to perform, as is amply demonstrated in numerous contractual vows involving curse-like "contractual vows" (*kishōmon* 起請文) dating back to the twelfth century. I then address the amalgamative character of this deity in terms of the characteristics of medieval Kōyasan Shingon Buddhist use of language in the conventions of the standardized and abbreviated forms of language used in *kishōmon* (here I draw on and then expand Sato Hirōō's 佐藤弘夫 work on the order and the types of deities listed) and other texts. In part, this analysis of language helps to explain why Daishi Myōjin has not been easily discernible as a distinct deity and has been largely forgotten altogether.

7) In *Something Seen in a Dream: Conversations with Kami as Preparations for Mondō and Debates* I give the history of doctrinal debates in Japan and of Kōyasan's monastic education and debate systems. After a brief description of the major debate assemblies and their connection to clerical organization and hierarchy, I delineate a detailed history of Kōyasan's debates, up to the relocation in the late thirteenth century away from Kōyasan of Daidenbōin, the cloister that had become a powerful internal threat, as covered in Chapter 2. I examine the roles of Daishi Myōjin in the debates at Kōyasan, as well as the roles of the kami in debates elsewhere, carrying out a comparative study with Kōfukuji and Hieizan. I address, in particular, the facets of the *Takusenki* and related texts, especially those concerning manifestations of kami and deceased masters, possession, dreams, and teaching, that tell us about scholarship and debate of the time as understood and practiced by the Chūin-ryū monks. This enables a further dimension to be added to the discussion of debate history at Kōyasan given at the opening of this chapter. I re-assert that the oracular possession could be as a particular mode of transmission of teachings in Buddhism, and in the case of Kōyasan, it was. The notion that kami and spirits of deceased masters participated in doctrinal education is supported too by practices that took place in the foothills of Kōyasan from, at very latest, the Edo period, and reflect local customs such as those of the sharing of the headship of non-monastic communities and re-enactments of land contracts between clans and Buddhist temple founders. We can tentatively propose Kōyasan incorporated these into its monastic scholarly culture. I finally re-emphasize that the debates at

Kōyasan were in many ways a form of ancestor worship and thereby lineage legitimization.

8) *The Visual Culture of Scholarly Rites and Ceremonies*, I suggest that because of Daishi Myōjin "descent" at this cloister, Henmyō'in was especially linked with debates. After the oracular possession, a special altar was created at this cloister for this kami. Until at least the late Edo period the *Honji-ku* 本地供 ("offering to the "original ground")—the pre-debate daily ritual—seems to have been practiced there exclusively and debate ritual implements were also stored there. This ritual may be related to a unique painting depicting the *honji* (本地 buddhist beings or "original ground" of whom kami were deemed suijaku 垂迹 avatars or "manifest traces") of the kami, enshrined at the back of a *zushi* 厨子 shrine in the debate hall that encloses Namikiri Fudō (Myōō) (波切不動 the "wave-cutting Fudō") and which enshrined the latter temporarily until a day prior to the debates for a ritual during which Daishi Myōjin was evoked to rebuke tax-evaders. Because of this altar and ritual/debate practices related to it, I suggest that Henmyō'in was itself a key site for the debates, suggesting a direct connection between Henmyō'in and debates, a connection that is today forgotten. This may be in part a result of Meiji period (明治 1868-1912) modernizing efforts, previously discussed, which excised "syncretistic" elements from much of Kōyasan but also in part because Henmyō'in itself no longer exists. An examination of the trajectory of the copying of this cloister's *Takusenki* as well as the history of a debate-related painting (the so-called *Mondōko-zu* 問答講

図) mentioned in the previous chapter (that is, where and by whom these were stored) also suggests a connection. I also come back to the paintings of kami discussed in Chapter 4, to discuss the figures related to them, and draw connections with scholarship, and a possible ritual use. Some vestiges of the connection between the debates and Daishi Myōjin of the cloister it once inhabited, such as ritual choreography employed in the debate procedures, do remain today.

In *Conclusion*, significant figures of the Chūin-ryū branch, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at Kōyasan Kongōbuji, enlisted figures from the past connected to the religious site in order to establish their legitimacy as the mainstream lineage that traced back to Kūkai, the official founder of Shingon Buddhism in Japan and founder of the community at Kōyasan. Their efforts are most clearly seen in textual, visual, and ritual culture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and this coincided with efforts to bolster scholarly prestige as one important marker of a strong and powerful center at that time. At a moment when discord between major factions at the complex reached a feverish height, and lineages were multiplying, they endeavored to attain superiority and restore order by claiming Daishi Myōjin, a pre-existing but relatively novel apotheosis of Kūkai, as their own kami: a punisher, a protector (of the "true" teachings and those who followed them, and a transmitter of the those (lineage) teachings. This kami whose name clearly combines the faculties of patriarchal teaching authority ("Great Teacher/s") and powerful kami ("Myōjin" or "Daimyōjin") also seems to have become a part of the debate ritual protocol, involving invocation and possession-like procedures. While Chūinryū

achieved their aim, beneath protocol that remains today, the meaning of the fusion of beliefs— and the powerful kami itself—has been buried, and has vanished.

CHAPTER 1

Early Medieval Kōyasan, Site of Esoteric Shingon Buddhism in Japan: A General Summary

1. *Site structure, and the expansions of territory and faith*
2. *Power configuration and conflict at Kōyasan in the early medieval period*
3. *Kōyasan's Kamakura period kami, and the use of foundation documents*

Introduction

This section gives a general history of early medieval Koyasan as a broad background for the reader to situate the subject of this study in. I introduce key issues to be expanded upon in later chapters and give a survey of the principal related literature. I note some methodological issues and limitations. Studies of medieval Kōyasan were largely dominated by research on its *shōen* (landed estates) until around half a century ago. Since then, scholars have been increasingly engaged in a broad array of studies of the religious cultures of this site. Many of these studies draw on the rich resources that have become available via the "Kōyasan shōgyō komonjo chōsa iinkai" 高野山聖経古文書調査委員会 committee founded in 1975 and comprised of members of Kōyasan University, the Kōyasan Reihōkan 霊宝館 Museum, and other research institutions. They also represent a broader scholarly turn in academic work on Japanese Buddhism from sectarian histories and doctrinal studies to those of visual, material, ritual, performative, spatial, and non-

canonical textual cultures, and are often characterized by approaches that are multi-disciplinary and site-specific. These developments are fruitful: for example, that cultural production and the configuration of faith are connected to economics, patronage, and to Kōyasan's relations with both centralized and local powers has become easier to discern. My dissertation sits at this junction, honing in on cultures centering on Kūkai/Kōbō Daishi); on the sacred mountain site as conceptually circumscribed and inscribed territory; and on the *kami* related to it, particularly the principle ones, Kōya (or Kariba) Myōjin and Niu Myōjin. Evident in each of these topics are the interplays during the period of notions and praxes of Pure Land traditions with the cult of Miroku, and with a hybrid, fluid religiosity composed of "Buddhism," "Shinto," 神道 "Shugendō" 修験道 and other elements.[43] These cultures are set in a historical context that includes the development of Kongōbuji as a *kenmon ji'in* power-bloc temple institution in medieval Japan with a basic demographic of "scholar-monks," "worker-monks" (*gyōnin* 行人), and itinerant *hijiri* 聖. They are be discussed in terms of Kōyasan's relations with the military government (*bakufu* 幕府) in Kamakura, which played an enormously important role in its development, and with aristocrats in the imperial capital, Heian. Changes in the link between Kōyasan and the shrine Amanosha are also noted.

Many primary sources from Kōyasan, including medieval ones, have been lost to the frequent fires over the centuries. The best known of these is the 994 burning by lightening of the Daitō (大塔 Great Pagoda) and loss by fire of many surrounding buildings. Numerous conflagrations from then onward consumed parts of the site (in 1149, 1521,

[43] These are referred to in quotation marks for reasons that become clear in the dissertation. I do sometimes use the terms expediently throughout.

1630, 1843, 1888 and 1926. In 1521 alone around 300 structures were lost) and reconstruction has therefore repeatedly taken place. In addition, the material culture of Kōyasan, Amanosha, and related institutions was dismantled and scattered during the Meiji period separation of Shinto and Buddhism. Some difficulty of access (many materials are confined to temple archives) remains a problem for researchers. On the other hand, as a result of its limited participation in the wars of the medieval period, and its relatively unscathed emergence from the *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏棄釈 suppression of Buddhism in the late nineteenth century, much has also been preserved at Kōyasan. However, the temple at which the text at the center of this study was produced was itself subject to destruction and relocations.

The *Kōyasan monjo* 高野山文書,[44] a compilation of Kōyasan documents from its temple archives, and the *Kōyasan shiryō sōsho* 高野山史料叢書[45] provide researchers with much textual material from the medieval period. Many other primary textual materials related to the site are kept at Kōyasan University library, and paintings, sculptures, ritual tools and documents are stored and routinely displayed at the Reihōkan. In comparison with other major religious sites in Japan, there is still little scholarship on Kōyasan in English.

There is, though, a considerable body of literature in Japanese about Kōyasan aimed at popular and specialist audiences about all the topics discussed, and it far outweighs work in English and other non-Japanese languages. For a general study, Philip L. Nicoloff's

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[44] *Kōyasan monjo* 高野山文書, ed. *Kōyasan monjo hensanjo* 高野山文書編纂所 (Kyoto: *Kōyasan monjo kankō kai* 高野山文書、刊行会, 1939).

[45] *Kōyasan shiryō sōsho* 高野山史料叢書, ed. Wada Shūjō 和田秀乗(Kōyasan: Kōyasan shiryō sōsho kankō kai 高野山史料叢書刊行会, 1963).

Sacred Kōyasan: A Pilgrimage to the Mount Temple of Saint Kōbō Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha (part-travelogue, part-history) is an excellent and evocative introduction in English to Kōyasan.[46] Another is George J. Tanabe Jr.'s essay "Kōyasan in the Countryside: The Rise of Shingon in the Kamakura Period," which demonstrates, as mentioned above, that Kōyasan prospered at this time across social boundaries. [47] Much earlier works on Kōyasan history by the Scott Elizabeth Anna Gordon (1851-1925) and the American Beatrice Lane Suzuki (1868-1939), while now generally considered outdated (and are not limited to the medieval period), are still well worth consulting, not least (in addition) for the information they give regarding the ways in which esoteric Buddhism was relayed to Europe and America in the early twentieth century and also as the history of Kōyasan as written by women.[48] In Japanese, notable principle works on Kōyasan's general medieval history (excluding individual essays), many of them mentioned throughout this essay, include those by Wada Shūjō (also called Akio 昭夫), Gorai Shigeru, Yamakage Kazuo, Abe Yasurō, Miyagawa Yoshihiko, and Matsunaga Yūkei.[49] The prolific

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[46] Philip L. Nicoloff, *Sacred Kōyasan: A Pilgrimage to the Mount Temple of Saint Kōbō Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha* (New York: SUNY Press, 2007).

[47] George J. Tanabe Jr., "Kōyasan in the Countryside: The Rise of Shingon in the Kamakura Period," in *Re-Visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism*, ed. Richard Payne (Honolulu: Univerity of Hawai'i Press, 1963).

[48] See Elizabeth Anna Gordon, *The Lotus Gospel; or Mahayana Buddhism and its Symbolic Teachings Compared Historically and Geographically with those of Catholic Christianity* (Tokyo: Waseda University Library, 1911) and E.A. Gordon イー・エー・ゴルドン *Kōbō Daishi to Keikyō* 弘法大師と景教,trans. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (Tokyo: Heigo shuppansha 丙午出版社, 1909), and Beatrice Lane Suzuki, "Mount Kōya," in *Buddhist Temples of Kyōto and Kamakura, Eastern Buddhist Voices*, Vol. 4, ed. Michael Pye (Sheffield: Equinox, 2013), 111-117.

[49] Wada Shūjō 和田秀乗, *Kōyasan shinkō no keisei to tenkai* 高野山信仰の形成と展開 (Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1963); Shigeru Gorai 五来重 *Kōyasan to shingon mikkyō no kenkyū* 高野山と真言密教の研究 Tokyo: Meicho shuppan 名著出版 , 2000; Yamakage Kazuo 山陰加春夫 *Chūsei*

output of the aforementioned Hinonishi Shinjō is of inestimable importance and warrants close attention: it generically extends from edited editions of a number of important eighteenth and nineteenth century chronicles and histories to close studies of the intersections between "folk practices" and those of the Buddhist establishment and analyses of art and architecture. Finally, the regularly-issued *Kōyasan shi kenkyū* 高野山史研究 and *Kōyasan Daigaku Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要 journals are both useful resources providing the most recent work on the site and its cultures.

1. Site structure, and the expansions of territory and faith

Founded in 816, Kōyasan is one of the main monastic centers of esoteric Shingon Buddhism in Japan. It is a near-flat area of land ringed by eight mountain peaks rising some 850 meters above sea-level in the Northeastern area of today's Wakayama 和歌山 prefecture. "Kōyasan" more specifically refers to Kongōbuji, the temple complex established there. The nominal patriarch of Shingon Buddhism in Japan, Kūkai (born Saeki no Mao 佐伯真魚), had appealed to the court of then ruler Saga to request the territory for his meditation and training center - and indeed it conformed to his ideal as a site for Buddhist contemplation. "According to the meditation sutras," he wrote, "meditation

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Kōyasan shi no kenkyū 中世高野山の研究 (Osaka: Seibundōsha 清文堂社, 1997); Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū* 中世高野山縁起の研究 (Nara: Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 元興寺文化財研究所, 1983); Miyagawa Yoshihiko 宮川良彦 *Kōbō Daishi to Kōyasan* 弘法大師と高野山 (Tokyo, Daihōrinkaku 大法輪閣, 1986) ; and Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶 *Kōyasan sono rekishi to bunka* 高野山その歴史と文化 (Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1984).

should be practiced preferably on a flat area deep in the mountains."[50] An encircling sleeve of peaks evoked an eight-petalled lotus (*hachiyō renge* 八葉蓮華) in bloom, a prevalent Buddhist image and of especial importance in esoteric Buddhism as the central lotus court of the Taizōkai (胎蔵界 Womb World) mandala, a key element of its ritual apparatus. Geography was interactive with doctrinal affiliation and visual culture not only at Kōyasan but across esoteric religious institutions and practices based in mountainous regions, - and in presenting an understanding of a tripartite composition of space physical (actual territory/built environment), mental (ideology and representations, as in maps), and cultural (infusion of space with symbolic meanings), such scholars have utilized the theories of Henri Lefèbvre and Edward Sonja. Most recently, Thomas F. Gieryn's work on "how places make people believe" has beautifully captured (across traditions, history, and genre) what he calls a "truth spot" as consisting of "a unique location in geographic space," "material stuff gathered at this spot," and "narrations, interpretations, and imaginations that give the place distinctive meaning and value."[51] Such approaches aid understanding of the religious cultures of Kōyasan too, a site that flourished during what is called the Insei (院政 "Cloistered rule system") period (between 1086 and around the end of the twelfth century), and the Kamakura periods when, following a decline, Kōyasan grew richer in patronage and economic clout, and became a strong focal point of both elite and popular cultic interest.

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[50] Hakeda, Y. S., *Kūkai and his Major Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 47.

[51] Thomas F. Gieryn, *Truth-spots: how places make people believe* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2018).

Kōyasan as a sacred site has occupied a significant place in the religious culture of Japan for around 1200 years. Today, together with Tōji in Kyoto it is a center for the stream of Kogi Shingon (古義真言 "Old Interpretation Shingon") and in 1946 became the independent headquarters of "Kōyasan Shingonshū," the Kōyasan Shingon school. It is at present occupied by 117 temples. Needless to say, the institutional position and material composition of Kōyasan today are the outcome of a history of turbulent changes and ill-reflect those of earlier periods. Kūkai's center, called Kongōbuji ("Temple of Vajra Peak," a name that referred to the whole site) after the sutra *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yuga yugi kyō* (金剛峰寺楼閣一切瑜伽瑜祇経 *Sutra of the Pavilion of Vajra Peak and all its Yogas and Yogins*) had by the early medieval period expanded to house numerous temples, cloisters, and halls within an ever-evolving constructed landscape. Simplistically put, by this time (as mentioned) there were roughly three groups populating Kōyasan: the *gakuryo* (scholar-administrator monks), the *gyōnin* (monks who managed the various worship halls and also practiced meditation) and the *hijiri* (monks related variously to chanting practices, and to fundraising around the country that involved proselytizing, amulet distribution, and the transport of the remains of the dead back to Kōyasan). Between 1310 and 1317 there were around 400 *gakuryo*, around 400 *gyōnin* and between 1700-2300 *hijiri* resident at Kōyasan.[52] The precise relative status and roles of each group remain unclear.[53] The sheer

[52] Hirase Naoki 平瀬直樹, "Chūsei jiin no mibun to shūdan: Kongōbuji no chūkasō mibun o chūshin ni 中世寺院の身分と集団～金剛峰寺の中下層身分を中心に, " in *Chūsei jiin no kenkyū*, 2, ed. Chūsei jiin shi kenkyūkai, (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1988), 103-133.

[53] Londo, *The Other Mountain: The Mount Kōya Temple Complex in the Heian Era*; Murakami Hiroko 村上弘子, *Kōyasan no shinkō to tenkai* 高野山の信仰と展開 (Tokyo: Yuzankaku 雄山閣, 2009).

number of residents and structures had surged since the eleventh century partially as a result of the building projects financed by aristocratic pilgrim-patrons and they in turn galvanized further frequent and complex changes in the configuration of the institutional and material space. An additional source of structural change was damage caused by a number of fires, the transferal of icons and documents from their original sites, and some loss of materials, so Kōyasan can be simply demarcated neither materially nor as an object of scholarly inquiry. It was (and is) not a harmonious and unified community in terms of institutional politics, doctrines or practices, either. Like other medieval temple institutions, the centers enjoyed affiliation and patronage with various parties, were split into a large number of lineages and sub-lineages, and evinced diverse systems of faith. This variety was to an extent the concomitant of revival activities after natural and human visitations of violence or/and economic decline: beginning in the eleventh century, figures from other religious institutions with their own traditions (such as Nara's Kōfukuji) entered to restructure internally, bringing with them their own practices. Meanwhile, fundraisers ventured outward to further realms to spread faith in other ways.

Researchers of the early medieval period encounter a plethora of heterogeneous religious ideas, a tangle of affiliations both within and beyond Kōyasan, and the specter of relentless and sometimes violent power struggles. Still, it is not despite but because of these spatial and temporal complexities that Kōyasan is magnetic and fascinating. Seemingly incompatible practices cleaved and bifurcated at different moments; topography was iconographically inscribed and transformed and variously populated. It is why and how this was so that is of interest. It must be mentioned that the more recent studies of the cultures of medieval Kōyasan are informed by basic "re-visionings" of Japanese religious history as

a whole and are beholden to explain how Kōyasan fits into these paradigms. Some standard presentations of the medieval period, particularly of the Kamakura period, advance the claim that certain new doctrines emerged during this time to cater to a sector of society seen as excluded from the older, "elitist" schools, including Kōyasan's Shingon which was seen, along with Shingon centers such as Tōji and Ninnaji as catering largely to the aristocracy. Yet at Kōyasan, as elsewhere, continuities with religious thought and practice under previous political orders are undeniable. As Tanabe[54] (drawing on the work of Kōyasan historians Miyasaka Yūshō and Satō Hiroshi[55] and Wada Shūjō, argue, although Kōyasan was traditionally categorized as a site of an "old Buddhism" that wielded less social leverage than the so-called "New Buddhist" movements such as Zen 禅 and Pure Land, it in fact maintained and developed ties with every one of the following social sectors: aristocrats, warrior class, military government, and "ordinary" people, and thereby flourished. Furthermore, Hinonishi;[56] Nakamura Honnen 中村本然 ;[57] the aforementioned Tanabe; Henny Van der Veere;[58] James Sanford;[59] Satō Mona 佐藤もな;[60] Aaron Proffitt[61]

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[54] Tanabe, Kōyasan in the Countryside."

[55] Miyasaka Yūshō 宮阪宥勝 and Satō Hiroshi 佐藤仁, *Kōyasan shi* 高野山史 (Tokyo: Shinkōsha 心交社, 1984).

[56] Hinonishi Shinjō. "Kōyasan no jōdō shinkō: toku ni daimon ni matsuwaru saihō jōdō shinkō ni tsuite" 高野山の浄土信仰〜特に大門にまつわる西方浄土信仰について, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* インド學仏教学研究, 35. 2, (1987): 728-731 and "The Hōgō (Treasure Name) of Kōbō Daishi and Beliefs Associated with It," *Japanese Religions*, 27.1 (2002): 5-18.

[57] Nakamura Honnen 中村本然, "Dōhan no jōdo kan" 道範の浄土観 , *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō* 高野山大学論争 29 (1994): 149-202.

[58] Henny Van der Veere, *A Study into the Thought of Kōgyō Daishi Kakuban: with a translation of* Gorin kuji myō himitsushaku, (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2000).

and others have drawn attention not only to the physical presence at Kōyasan of so-called "New Buddhist" figures like Hōnen (法然 1133-1212) and some of his followers but also the development of Pure Land, including Amidist and *nenbutsu* 念仏 chant (conventionally connected to this "New Buddhism") ideas and practices, some of which involved sophisticated theories and doctrinal exegeses such as those innovated by Kōyasan scholar monks like Kakuban (覚鑁 1095-1143) and Dōhan. *Hijiri* monks like Myōhen (明遍 1142-1224) and leader of the Jishū 時宗 movement Ippen (一遍 1239-1289) also visited or resided at the mountain site. By the late eleventh century, Kyōkai (教懐 1004?-1097?) had organized a base for *nenbutsu*-practicing *hijiri*. Chōgen (重源 1121-1206), better known for raising funds to rebuild Tōdaiji 東大寺, set up a center at Kōyasan for the exclusive practice of *nenbutsu* and as a residence for *hijiri*. In the 1187 collection *Kōyasan ōjōden* (高野山往生伝 *Biographies of Those of Kōyasan Reborn in the Pure Land*) by Nyojaku (如寂 1119-1195) rebirths are described as occurring in Amida's Pure Land as well as that of Miroku and of Mahāvairocana 大日如来 (*Mitsugon Jōdō* 密厳浄土, the "Pure Land of

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[59] James. H. Sanford, "Breath of Life: The Esoteric Nenbutsu," in ed. Ian Astley, *Esoteric Buddhism in Japan* (Copenhagen and Aarhus: Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1994), 65-98 (Rpt in ed. Richard K. Payne, *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, (Somerville MA: Wisdom Publications, 2006), 161-189, and "Amida's Secret Life: Kakuban's *Amida hishaku*," in ed. Richard K. Payne & Kenneth Tanaka, *Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2004), 120-138.

[60] Sato Mona 佐藤もな. "Chūsei Shingon shū ni okeru jōdō shisō kaishaku: Dōhan *Himitsu nenbutsu shō* o megutte 中世真言宗における浄土思想解釈〜『道範秘密念仏抄』をめぐって"*Indo tetsugaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* インド哲学仏教学研究, 9 (2002), 80-92.

[61] Aaron P. Proffitt, *Mysteries of Speech and Breath: Dōhan's (1179-1252) Himitsu nenbutsu shō and Esoteric Pure Land Buddhism* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2015).

Mystical Splendour"). Zen was present too, as discussed below. All these movements, figures, practices and texts represent vibrant forces in the development of the religious cultures of the site and complicate any notion of the site as purely esoteric or purely "Shingon," a standard presentation that has persisted as a result of sectarian scholarship and studies that over-emphasize founders, doctrines, and genealogies. This behooves us to re-consider sectarian boundaries, exchanges between monastic figures, and mutual influences, while remaining alert to the moments and ways in which Kōyasan monks defined themselves as linked in special ways to Kōyasan and drew distinctions between their practices and those of others.

The so-called New Buddhism was, then, a part of early medieval Kōyasan, and Kōyasan received patronage from the Eastern *bakufu* leadership (that was officially established in 1192) based in Kamakura, but the site also maintained the attentions of the previous ruling class. Indeed, beginning in the 11th century, imperial and state figures including the Regent (*sekkanke* 摂関家) Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長, and the Retired Emperors Shirakawa 白河, Toba 鳥羽 and Go-Shirakawa 後白河 undertook pilgrimages to Kōyasan.[62] In the Kamakura period (though there was a slight drop in frequency), the Retired Emperors Go-Tobag 後鳥羽, Go-Saga 後嵯峨, and Go-Uda 後宇多 continued this practice. Funds, many in the form of landholdings were awarded on these occasions. As mentioned, during the Kamakura period Kōyasan significantly increased its construction

[62] Donald Drummond, *Negotiating Influence: The Pilgrimage Diary of Monastic Imperial Prince Kakuhō - Omurogosho Kōyasan gosanrō nikki*. (Ph.D. Diss, Graduate Theological Union, 2007) and Ethan C. Lindsay, *Pilgrimage to the Sacred Traces of Kōyasan: Place and Devotion in Late Heian Japan* (Ph.D. diss, Princeton University, 2012).

and broadened its ownership of property and land. It also earned economic sustenance from levies and from handling fees for rice imports from its landed estates. The landed estates (*shōen*) were themselves significant sources of income because of the favorable tax status they enjoyed as temple property. They were donated by the nobility for specific purposes, such as the funding of regular assemblies. Similarly concerted efforts to attain donations were being made by other large institutions such as Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji, and Ise 伊勢 as well. Intense conflicts over land flared up, and while in this paper I will not address the research on *shōen* in depth, it should be emphasized that the desire for land, the strategies used to acquire it and to justify ownership, and the ways in which it was managed all bore religious dimensions (though the appropriateness of the division of activities into "religious" and "secular"/political in interpretation of this period is debatable). Struggle over control of the landholdings of Iwashimizu Hachiman gu (shrine) 石清水八幡宮 and of the Ategawa 阿弖河 region was a particular irritant for Kōyasan, and has attracted the attention by scholars as a means of clarifying medieval Koyasan's modes of negotiating legal issues, its expansion of power and the loci/character of its allies and detractors.[63] While I explore this in a little more detail in the body of the dissertation, I will give just two examples of the "religious" aspect of land acquisition efforts. The threat of punishment by kami (*shinbatsu* 神罰) and/or by buddhas (*butsubatsu* 仏罰) was routinely wielded by Kōyasan's disciplinary

[63] Kazuo Yamakage, *Chūsei Jiin to 'Akutō* 中世寺院と悪党 (Tokyo: Seibundō 清文堂, 2006); Judith Fröhlich, *Rulers, Peasants, and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Japan*: *Ategawa no sho 1004-1304* (Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2007); Philip Garrett, "Crime on the Estates: Justice and Politics in the Kōyasan Domain," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 41.1 (2015): 79-112; and Morten Oxenboell, "Images of Akutō," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 60.2 (2005), 235-262.

bodies to control opposition, usually in the form of *kishōmon* contractual vows.[64] Secondly, as I discuss, Kongōbuji's *engi* foundation documents, including one particular narrative concerning the sacred inviolability of the territory it claimed as its own, grew in importance as justifications for claims that it made became pressing, and they birthed a richness of new representations of the site and its character. Many of these were produced in the thirteenth century by the Chūin-ryū and are the focus of my discussion of the *Henmyō'in Daishi Myōjin Go Takusenki*, which is one such example.

Finally, it must be noted that the printing of principle Shingon and Kōyasan texts, called the "Kōyaban" 高野版 was supported financially by Adachi Yasumori (安達泰盛 1231-1285), head of the Adachi warrior clan (figures that linked Kōyasan to the *bakufu* government), and thus contributed to the development and dissemination of land-specific matters and other information.

By drawing on the findings of the scholars named above (and others), who have worked to both problematize the apparent divide between religion and politics and to highlight the confluence of practices and figures traditionally fenced off from each other into clearly defined sects, conventional notions of power distribution, networks between institutions, and patronage at medieval Kōyasan can now be re-examined. In other words, cultural production may be seen as inseparable from matters of institutional power and conflict. Studies of the cultures today surpass those of *shōen* and they are at the frontier of Kōyasan research both by Japanese and non-Japanese scholars. The prosperity of the site in the early medieval period both allowed for and also resulted from its cultures: founder

[64] Philip Garrett, "Holy Vows and realpolitik: Preliminary notes on Kōyasan's early medieval kishōmon," *The e-journal of East and Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 94-108.

worship, for instance, helped with economic sustenance and involved the dissemination of the idea of Kōyasan as a sacred or "spirit" place (*reijō* 霊場), while land ownership expansion was linked to inventive developments of the temple site foundation narrative. As a means of setting these in context, I present below the basic position of Kōyasan at the time vis-à-vis other institutions as well as its internal power composition.

2. Power configuration and conflict at Kōyasan in the early medieval period

Idealized from early on as a retreat geographically isolated from the affairs of what it called the "world below" (*gekai* 下界) Kōyasan was nonetheless woven into a network of powerful religious and political sites and figures further afield. Between the eleventh century (following the disastrous fire in 994 that left the site all but abandoned) and the first half of the thirteenth, it grew powerful under the patronage of the imperial house (*ōke* 王家) and the regents.[65] By the end of the thirteenth it had gained independence of Ninnaji and Tōji, two Shingon temples to which it had been institutionally bound in the imperial capital (present-day Kyoto), and had broadened its control of estates in its own Kii Province (present-day Wakayama/Mie prefectures).

Yamakage[66] describes the composition of institutional power at Kōyasan in the Kamakura period as having been comprised of three principle components, and traces the internal problems regarding leadership that arose from between around 1239 and 1288

[65] Londo discusses the rise of Kōyasan during the eleventh century in *The Other Mountain*.

[66] Yamakage Kazuo, *Chūsei Kōyasan shi no kenkyū* 中世高野山の研究 (Osaka: Seibundō 清文堂, 2011).

when Kongōbuji finally become a consolidated group and the administrative head of the whole site. The three nodes of institutional authority were the groups (*kata* 方) of Kongōbuji, Daidenbō'in, and Kongōsanmai'in 金剛三昧院 and they all had connections to important political figures and temples beyond Kōyasan. As already noted, Kongōbuji had strong administrative ties to Tōji. Daidenbō'in (originally Denbō'in), on the other hand, was established along with Mitsugon'in by Ninnaji monk Kakuban (1095-1143) with the support of the retired Emperor Toba. Daidenbō'in was thereby linked with Ninnaji, located in the imperial capital, and its line of prince-monks. Kongōsanmai'in, on the other hand, was *bakufu*-affiliated, having been built in 1211 as a memorial temple for the third Kamakura shogun, Minamoto Sanetomo 源実朝, by his widow Hōjō Masako (北条政子 1156-1225), (the so-called "Nun Shōgun").

Yamakage explains the intense conflicts between Kongōbuji and Daidenbō'in as having been to a large extent caused by *shōen* ownership disputes as well as differences in ritual procedure and the growing power at Kōyasan of Daidenbō'in. The following are examples of these types of disagreements. Daidenbō'in made claim to land that Kongōbuji stated as its own and as having been bequeathed by the local mountain *kami* to Kūkai. In order to reinforce its claims, it also emphasized its membership of the "true lineage," discussed below. Daidenbō'in's devotions were Pure Land-inflected: Kakuban propagated, for example, the teaching that Dainichi was Amida in works such as *Gorin kujimyō himitsu shaku (*五輪九字明秘密釈 *Commentary on the Secrets of the Five Cakras and the Nine Syllables)*, as well as the "secret *nenbutsu*" (*himitsu nenbutsu* 秘密念仏).[67] However, this

[67] Van der Veere, *A Study into the Thought of Kōgyō Daishi Kakuban*; Sanford, "Breath of Life".

may have caused less consternation than Daidenbō'in's ceremonial conduct did: members suffered a Kongōbuji-instigated attack that escalated to murder when their ceremonial robes were deemed inappropriate and slashed (an incident known as the "robe-slashing disturbance" (*mokiri sōdō* 毛切騒動). Daidenbō'in posed an additional threat to Kongōbuji when Kakuban was appointed by Toba in 1133 as dual head of both temples. A number of conflicts over designating headship of Kōyasan arose during the early medieval period. The third power-house, Kongōsanmai'in, rarely became involved in conflicts. This was, it seems, not only because it enjoyed the protection of the *bakufu* but because the status of its property was not questioned. This suggests both that the preservation of a Shingon esotericism without shades of other schools was not so much a driving factor in the disputes as power, economic standing, and leadership were. Indeed, Kongōsanmai'in (originally called Zenjō'in) had its own distinctive character: it followed Zen doctrines and practices as a result of a combination of Masako's devotional inclinations and Sanetomo's warrior milieu. Kongōsanmai'in's first master Kakuchi (覚智 d. 1248) was a disciple of Masako's preceptor Gyōyū (行勇 1163-1241) and had been a warrior under Masako's Shōgun husband. Like Gyōyū he taught not only Shingon but Zen and the precepts as well. Later, Jōdō teachings were present there too. Kongōsanmai'in was not entirely immune from conflict with Kongōbuji; its printing and major construction projects both funded by the Hōjō clan led to discord. In 1380, Go-Uda'in ordered it to shift its two scholarly institutions (Kangaku'in and Kanshū'in, built in 1280 by Hōjō Tokimune) nearer to the central precinct and to centralize administration of them.

The thirteenth century witnessed Kongōbuji's concerted efforts to subordinate and oust Daidenbō'in from power, while at the same time seeking independence of Tōji and Ninnaji. The factional conflicts indeed led to the exile of members of both temples after an arson attack by the latter (to be discussed in Chapter 2), and later the final departure of Daidenbō'in in 1288 with then-leader Raiyū (頼瑜 1226-1304), and move to nearby Negorosan 根来山. As a result, Kōyasan's Shingon bifurcated into what later became known as "Shingi Shingon" (新義真言 "New Interpretation Shingon") and, by necessary contrast, "Kogi Shingon," referred to above.

One other major project related to the temple disputes at Kōyasan and with institutions in Kyoto cannot be ignored, and this was Kongōbuji's endeavor to subsume Amanosha, the foothills-based shrine of the tutelary kami (*chinjusha* 鎮守社) of Kōyasan. It fully achieved this in the early fourteenth century, along with its other goals. A major factor in this takeover was a dispute known as "the sacred horse dispute" (*shinme sōron* 神馬争論),[68] which ultimately resulted in the appropriation of the right to make key appointments at Amanosha. This effectively resulted in the confiscation of Ninnaji's previously held administration of this site, and an overpowering of the authority of local clans.

[68] Kaji, H. 加地 "Kamakura shoki no Amano Injū ni tsuite: Ninnaji, Kōyasan to Gyōshō shōnin ni tsuite" 鎌倉初期の天野院主について〜仁和寺, 高野山, と行勝上人," *Kōyasan shi kenkyū*, 高野山史研究 4 (1986): 46-61 and "Kōyasan to Amano Uji no chōja shoku: Katei nenkan no shinme sōron 高野山と天野氏長者職〜過程年間の神馬争論," *Kōyasan shi kenkyū* 6 (1997): 1-11; Yamakage, *Chūsei Jiin to 'Akutō'*.

Kongōbuji had now come to prevail over the Kōyasan complex and is held to have become at this time a typical medieval *shōen* owner and "power-bloc temple" (*kenmon ji'in*) like its contemporaries Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji (both in Nara), and Tōji. In fact, in 1333, all the lands claimed by Kongōbuji to have been originally bequeathed to them by Kūkai were restored by the decree of the Emperor Go-Daigo. Mikael Adolphson, who discusses these disputes in English,[69] also considers Kōyasan a *kenmon ji'in* but regards the internal strife concerning leadership of Kōyasan to be a feature that distinguishes it from other major *kenmon ji'in* of the period. Aforementioned studies by Yamakage, Adolphson, Kaji, Fröhlich, and Garrett have brought to the study of Kōyasan the subjects of power-play, militarized monks, Buddhism and violence, the formation/maintenance of a *kenmon ji'in*, and inter-institutional politics.

This mapping of an institutional landscape of clerical hierarchy and of networks stretching from Kōyasan to Kyoto and Nara to the seat of the military government in Kamakura is a helpful foundation for understanding the development of Kamakura period cultures at Kōyasan, such as its less figurative landscape. The natural lay of the land selected as appropriate for and forged as a site of worship and sacred movement (such as pilgrimage) was mentioned in the introduction. Kōyasan had been chosen by Kūkai as a monastic center precisely because of its distance from the capital. But the relationships with powerful figures were also cultivated precisely by way of its geographical distance, for Kōyasan was a popular and prestigious pilgrimage site. This brings us to the study of its culture as it took form in a site-specific sense. These included combinatory, hybrid forms of

[69] Mikael. S Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

practice and doctrine that emerged from encounters with and doctrinal exegeses of the territorially related kami, and the conceptualization of the mountainous region as a Pure Land or as a realm connected to Maitreya. These are all linked to the cult of the founder, subject of the following section.

3. Kōyasan's Kamakura period *kami*, and the use of foundation documents

Scholars of recent work on sacred mountains in Japan show the usefulness of "cultic centers" and entire sites as models for understanding medieval Buddhism and argue against focusing solely on textually transmitted teachings, practices, or places (as if these were aspects were mutually exclusive and reserved for the attention of scholars in separate fields). Indeed, as already discussed, the religiosity of Kōyasan cannot be limited to an unadulterated "Shingon" transmitted by Kūkai and maintained throughout Kōyasan's history in some pure state. But it also extends beyond the conceptualizations of the site as a Pure Land. Local communities inhabited and worked the mountainous region long before it became a temple site, and continued to do so after it did. Studies by Gorai and Hinonishi focus on the "folklore" and popular practices at Kōyasan and surrounding regions, providing important counters to the largely institutional histories provided by Yamakage[70] and Kushida[71] (the former a more specifically site-focused scholarship, the latter giving a wide-lens on Shingon history).

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[70] Yamakage, *Chūsei Kōyasan shi no kenkyū*.

[71] Kushida, Ryōkō, 櫛田良洪 *Shingon mikkyō seiritsu katei no kenkyū* 真言密教成立過程の研究 (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin 山喜房佛書林, 1964).

The principle *kami* enshrined at Kōyasan and at Amanosha that were incorporated into the Buddhist institution were part of pre-Buddhist mountain life. These were Kōya (or Kariba, "hunting site") Myōjin and Niu (lit. "cinnabar birth") Myōjin. During the Kamakura period two other kami were added: Itsukushima 厳島 Myōjin and Kehi 気比 Myōjin. The origins of the invocations of these to Kōyasan are uncertain but they may be connected either to Taira 平 clan patronage, possibly that of Kiyomori 清盛 who venerated both Itsukushima and Kōyasan, or to the activities of shrine-based monk Gyōshō Shōnin (行勝上人 1130-1217) and his follower Jōgyō (or Jōkyō) 貞暁 Shōnin (1186-1231), a son of former Shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝. Jōgyō was one of Gyōshō's principle followers and the latter – based at Amanosha – likely had added these two kami upon the visit of Hōjō Masako (wife of Yoritomo) to the shrine. In any case, by this time all four kami were identified with Buddhist divinities in the *honji-suijaku* scheme that designated the relationships between Buddhism and the kami.[72] though, as Bernard Faure has shown, a more complex and fluid system of association is evident here and throughout the religiosity of the time.[73]

The primary and most frequently made identification of Niu Myōjin was with the Womb World aspect of Dainichi Nyorai and that of Kōya Myōjin with its Diamond World aspect (*kongōkai* 金剛界). Itsukushima Myōjin was paired with Benzaiten 弁財天 and Kehi Myōjin with the Thousand-Armed Kannon bodhisattva (Senju kannon 千手観音).

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[72] See earlier, and, for further explication, Kubota Osamu 久保田収, *Shintō shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōgakkan daigaku shuppanbu 皇學館大学出版部, 1973) and Ōyama Kojun 大山公淳, *Shinbutsu kōshō shi* 神仏交渉史. (Osaka: Tōhō shuppan 東方出版. 2008), 318-384.

[73] Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon* and *Protectors and Predators*, 2015.

Occasionally other identities were given: in the reformulated foundation narratives of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods that Yasuro Abe explores,[74] and into which I delve deeply in this study, Niu Myōjin is presented as the *suijaku* form of Fudō Myōō and Kōya Myōjin as that of Aizen Myōō. The new identifications are indicative of the changes in and development of rituals, such as the increase in rituals centered on the Myōō ("Bright Kings") and other *besson* (別尊 single entities) and their entourages. Shingon scholar-monks identified Niu Myōjin as the younger sister of Amaterasu, as well, tying her to the imperial family, and as a manifestation of Shakamuni Buddha.

Both the descriptions of the kami in the *engi* and their role in repelling the Yuan Dynasty troops informed their iconography, to be discussed in Chapter 4. The best-known visual representations of the kami are the Kamakura period Kongōbuji pair of Kariba and Niu Myōjin, which has been frequently copied up the present day, and the so-called "mandalas" of all four in full aristocratic attire or in warrior-like poses and clothing. Further representations, such as Kōya Myōjin as "Yōgō" Myōjin and Niu Myōjin holding aloft a lamp, are said to have been influenced by respective visions experienced by influential scholar-monks Dōhan and Yūkai. Additionally, it has been conjectured that an unusual thirteenth century painting showing the two *kami* with Kōbō Daishi was used as the icon of a major debate (indicating as well developments at Kōyasan of its scholarship and events to showcase it). Such depictions attest to the important relationship between the temples in the mountains and the kami enshrined both there and at Amanosha (and several other nearby sites), as does the medieval *Bugaku Mandara Ku* 舞楽曼荼羅供 event that

[74] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū,* and Abe Yasurō and Yamazaki Makoto eds. *Chūsei Kōyasan engi shū* 中世高野山縁起集 (Nagoya: Shinpukuji zenbon sōkan 真福寺善本叢刊, 1999).

took place in various forms at Amanosha from the Kamakura period (thought to have been begun by Gyōshō Shōnin) to the early nineteenth century.[75] This was a large-scale performance by dancers, musicians, and Shingon monks. Amanosha's collection of *bugaku* costumes are compelling material remnants of its grandeur. Sculptures of these kami (*shinzō* 神像) are less common but several kept at Amanosha and other shrines in the area dated to the thirteenth century have recently been analyzed[76] and a small set – thought to be of Edo period provenance – is kept at Shōchi'in temple at Kōyasan; another set is at Kiminochō temple, also within the vicinity of the monastic community.

The conventional *engi* of Kōyasan are presented in Chapter 4, but new ones of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods—which never gained general currency— discussed by Abe Yasurō, presented a plethora of new claims too about the origins of Kōyasan, of the history and nature of Kōbō Daishi, the significance of the land, and the kami. Ideas about Tosotsuten already current were elaborated even further, architecture being mandalized in more specific detail *as* Tusita, for example. Many of these were titled "deep secrets" or "oral transmissions." This mapping was not unrelated to the mandalaic marking of territory by which Kōyasan had already been demarcated. While a "ryōbu mandala" 両部曼荼羅 – a pair of Diamond World and Womb World mandalas – has always been a requisite ritual apparatus at a Shingon altar, Kōyasan was pictured from the Heian period onward as a

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[75] Tooru Endō 遠藤徹, *Amanosha Bugaku Mandara Ku: egakareta Kōyasan chinjūsha Niutsuhime jinja sengū no hōraku 天野社舞楽曼荼羅供～描かれた高野山鎮守社丹生都比売神社遷宮の法楽* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin 岩田書院 2011).

[76] Toshiyuki Ōkōchi, "Shinzō shin shiryō 3: Seiritsuki no Niu Kōya Shisha Myōjin zō ni tsuite: chūzō shinzō to sono mokei 神像新史料３：成立期の丹生高野四社明神像について～鋳造神像とその模型,"*Bukkyō Geijutsu* 仏教芸術 346, (2016), 55-85.

mandala. It was mapped as a *hachiyo jōdo* (八葉浄土 "eight-petalled pure land"), like the central lotus seat of the principle deity Dainichi Nyorai in the Womb World mandala, but was also explained as having an outer ring of peaks as well, making a total of sixteen - and to stand as "sixteen great bodhisattvas" of the Diamond World mandala. Further, it was also related to "Yugi Kongō Peak," the Indian site of esoteric Buddhist origin narratives where an iron stupa was occupied by Vajrasattva bodhisattva who transmitted the teachings there (again, the conceptual vitality of the *Yugi* sutra, mentioned earlier, is active here). Broadly, the architecture was planned from Kūkai's time (and elaborated from then on) as a pair of mandalas.[77] The *Danjō garan* (壇上伽藍 central precinct) which comprised a lecture hall (*Kōdō* 講堂/*Kondō* 金堂, rebuilt in 1934), a Central Gate (*Chūmon* 中門, most recently rebuilt in 2015) a Great Stupa (*Daitō*, first rebuilt at the behest of Retired Emperor Shirakawa, the present structure a 1937 reconstruction) and a Western Stupa (*Saitō* 西塔, rebuilt in 1834) was constructed at the center of the territory in accordance with Kūkai's interpretation of the two mandalas (though not completed until after his death). In an 818 prayer text, he states his establishment of the space as these mandalas, and in the *Kongōbuji konryū Shugyō engi* 金剛峰寺建立修行縁起, one of the fundamental and widely-known *engi* of the community, and of which more in Chapter 4, Kūkai's last words include divulgence of the secret that all assemblies in both mandalas had been in place at Kōyasan even before his arrival. The mandalas as a pair are the total expression of the two aspects of

[77] See David Gardiner, "Mandala, Mandala on the Wall: Variations of Usage in the Shingon School," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 19. 2 (1996): 245-79 and Cynthea Bogel, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icons and Early Mikkyō Vision* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), on the visual culture of Shingon and Kūkai's introduction of it to Japan.

principle/wisdom and compassion of Dainichi Nyorai, and the Great Stupa in turn is a material expression of the Womb World Dainichi Nyorai and of the four principle buddhas of the Diamond World. The mandalaic construction of space extended far outward, and like other aspects of Kōyasan's culture, further developed in the medieval period. There are seven entrances to Kōyasan, and Kūkai is said to have designated a principle route, originating at Jison'in 慈尊院. Jison'in was the *mandokoro* 政所 administrative center for Kōyasan's estates, and from the Muromachi period was a site of worship as the mausoleum of Kūkai's mother. The trail leads through Amanosha, and up to the Great Gate. By 1285, 180 stone markers in the form of *gorintō* had been installed in place of the wooden ones, and the route ended at the Dainichi Nyorai icon enshrined in the Daitō. *Gorintō* are pillars in the form of the five elements that, in Japanese esoteric Buddhism, make up all phenomena and are a corresponding form (*sanmaya-gyō* 三昧耶形) of Dainichi Nyorai. The stones stood for the 180 divinities in the Taizōkai Womb World Mandala. From the Great Stupa 37 more were laid out, corresponding to the divinities of the Kongōkai Mandala. These led from the Great Stupa to Okuno'in (奥之院 Kūkai's place of repose, or "eternal meditation". This whole route—financially supported by the bakufu, especially Hōjo Tokimune—was called the *Chōishimichi* (町石道 "Chō-stone- path;" one *chō* the measurement unit of 109 meters which spaced out the markers) and thus comprised the two mandalas, or the two aspects of the esoteric Buddhist world, through which a pilgrim could move, allowing layperson devotion within a macro-mandala. The renovation of the main route indicates the pilgrimage activity of the period and is another aspect of a mandalization of space (that was by no means unique to Kōyasan). The markers reflected the unsettled

times as well: buried at their bases were stones inscribed with lines from the *Konkō myō saishō ō kyō (*金光明最勝王経 *The Sutra of Golden Light)*, a text used commonly in rituals for protection of the realm.

Finally, education and doctrinal debates at Kōyasan have not attracted as much attention as a subject of research as those at Kōfukuji and Hieizan have, which leaves an opening for this dissertation to try to partially fill, although I emphasize that I do not intend to provide a comprehensive history of Kōyasan's debates. While Toganoo has provided a history of Shingon education and Rambelli[78] has discussed the medieval Shingon education system, Kōyasan's debates as a specific subject have received only fairly summary attention with the exception of the work of Shizuka. Sango, in her study of debates, has raised objections to studies of Buddhism that focus disproportionately on thaumaturgical ritual as well as those that also, conversely, have swung back too far in the opposite direction to excessively focus on the official and the institutional. She argues for an approach that retreats from both, and this is a broadly applicable one. I agree with her observations. I hope to soften the boundaries between the "official" debates and other scholarly rites, and the thaumaturgical/apotropaic in this study of possession practices and the culture of manifestation, and intellectual interaction with immaterial beings in the context of Buddhist scholarship. The focal figure, indeed, as a "teacher" and a "kami" (or a mixture of ancestral patriarchs and kami), its character demonstrated by its nomenclature,

[78] Fabio Rambelli, "In Search of the Buddha's Intention: Raiyu and the world of medieval Shingon learned monks," in eds. Sanpa gōdō kinen ronshū henshū iinkai, *Shingi Shingon kyōgaku no kenkyū: Raiyu Sōjō nanahyakunen goenki kinen ronshū* 新義真言教学の研究～頼瑜僧正七百年御遠忌記念論集 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan 大蔵出版, 2002): 1208-1236.

“Daishi Myojin” (Great Teacher/s Bright God/s), brings these into union.

CHAPTER 2

Administrating in his Absence: The Chūin-ryū in the Institutional History of Kōyasan

"The patriarchal tradition …is not a sign of a richness in the tradition, but rather of a lack in it". Bernard Faure [79]

1. *Lineage-making and legitimacy*
2. *The Chūin-ryū at Kōyasan*
3. *The Kengyō role, the Chūin-ryū monopoly, and closeness to the founder*
4. *On Henmyō'in and its connection with Chūin*

Introduction

Walter Benjamin, following Paul Valery, spoke of time, death and narrative, in his essay *The Storyteller*. Although on the surface his subject seems, in terms of culture and genre, distant from the subject of pre-modern Japanese Buddhism and the transmission of teachings through ancestors and kami, his musings are useful for opening up discussion about contact or accessibility with what is "withdrawn" or "absent," and the extraction of knowledge from it. This is what monks of Kōyasan (and members of religious communities everywhere) sought to do after the passing of their founder Kūkai. The Chūin-ryū branch of

[79] Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 9.

Shingon at Kōyasan in the thirteenth century fortified the legitimacy of their line back to the founder by utilizing "newly-discovered" texts full of teachings, claiming special access to oracular messages from the mountain kami, and receiving a full set of teachings via a possessed child that legitimized a certain monk, and patched up a potential gap in the lineage. They also, with the same objective, sought to monopolize the post of *kengyō*. This was the top administrative role for the community, but it was not only a leadership role. The occupier was a stand-in for Kūkai himself, and because of the ways in which the founder was perceived in the medieval period, the role took on a particular significance whereby the path toward it involved, in some ways, "playing Kūkai." In this section I present both the issues of lineage and legitimacy, and the role of the *kengyō* at Kōyasan.

"The idea of eternity," Benjamin writes, "has ever had its strongest source in death. If this idea declines, so we reason, the face of death must have changed. It turns out that this change is identical with the one that has diminished the communicability of experience to the same extent as the art of storytelling has declined." He continues by discussing the idea that death, in the modern (Western) consciousness has declined in "omnipresence and vividness" and he pins the origins of this decline to the increasing concealment of the face of death "from the perceptual world of the living" beginning in the nineteenth century via a variety of institutions.

Two parts of Benjamin's thinking on this are helpful for thinking about the link between death and transmission (synonymous, in a way, with life, the opposite of death) in Japanese religions. The storyteller, Valery says (and Benjamin quotes), "speaks of the perfect things in nature, flawless pearls, full-bodied, matured wines… and calls them 'the precious product of a long chain of causes similar to one another.'" Imitating the patience

behind this work the story, for Benjamin (who takes Valery's description of the subject as that process), is created through a "slow piling one on top of the other of thin, transparent layers" and "perfect narrative" is "revealed through the layers of a variety of retellings".[80] Benjamin is, among many other things, critiquing modernity (as well as the novel), its penchant for speed and change, and lamenting the loss of tradition, with what he sees as its shared, habitual, repeating ways through which experience is "communicable."[81] This fine, and slowly accreted craftsmanship is associated with (the product of) a perceptual world in which death and a particular idea of eternity is present.

In slightly perplexing juxtaposition to this is his assertion that the moments of dying provide the greatest authority to the communication of experience and therefore to "the story": "suddenly … the unforgettable emerges and imparts to everything that concerned him that authority that [any person] … dying possesses for the living around him". The moment of death stamps the transmission of things – experience, knowledge, and material objects– with the greatest authority and authenticity. This is, surely, a notion shared by the genealogical imagination and practice by which transmission objects (and last testaments, as well, including the *Goyuigo nijūgo kajō* (御遺告二十五個條 *The Last Testament in 25 Articles;*[82] hereafter *Goyuigo*) of Kūkai (apocryphon) are channeled. The "layered" nature of the object/narrative/knowledge; the importance of the transmission *at death*; and the resultant continuation that is similar to the maintenance of life itself, which all bring to

[80] Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schoken Books, 1969).

[81] Benjamin, "The Storyteller," 93.

[82] Dated to the mid-tenth century. See *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai zenshū* 弘法大師空海全集 8, (Kōbō Daishi Kūkai zenshū henshū iinkai 弘法大師空海全集編集委員会, 1986), 37-96.

mind an image of *relics* wrapped and nested in their stupas, are issues I'd like to keep in mind as I explore methods of transmission (of teachings, information and knowledge) and how these serve to form or maintain lineage. The methods employed by the Chūin-ryū, one specific branch of Shingon Buddhism at Kōyasan, are my focus, for they claimed Kukai had bequeathed special teachings to his immediate follower Shinzen[83] (真然 d.891), and to a mountain kami, but before illustrating these, a general introduction regarding lineage in Japanese Buddhism, and the character of the Chūin-ryū itself is necessary.

I will first discuss lineage-making in Buddhism in East Asia in a broad way, before moving in to recognize how the multiplicity of lines in Shingon Buddhism were distinguished not by differences in doctrinal interpretation but rather by ritual prowess, efficacy of certain rituals, and the secret transmissions passed down from teacher to disciple.[84] I then introduce the Chūin-ryū and its history within the broader institutional history of Kōyasan. Following this, I consider how the absence of the founder at Kōyasan in particular affected lineage formation and especially the domination of leadership by the Chūin-ryū. This is important for the later recognition of the roles the founder/ancestor and kami played for the monks in their education and its display in mondo and debates. They were not merely related to, or objects of, scholarship for study or "offering;" rather, I suggest, a kind of (re)enactment of their roles was involved; indeed, the head of Kōyasan was considered a "stand-in" for Kōbō Daishi,[85] but it appears that other roles were played

[83] Sometimes read "Shinnen".

[84] Ōyama Kōjun "Himitsu bukkyō Kōyasan Chūin-ryū no kenkyū (josetsu)" 秘密仏教高野山中院流の研究（序説) in ed. Gorai, *Kōyasan Shingon Mikkyō no kenkyū*, 167-8.

[85] Gorai, "Shugendo Lore," 126.

too. Concomitant to the absence of the founder was the desire for a closeness to him: this informed pilgrimage practices; notions of his presence; and the fervent faith in Miroku and Tosotsuten at Kōyasan, especially among the affiliates of the Chūin-ryū. Finally, the production of *shōgyō* sacred texts will be discussed. These works were fundamentally connected to lineage formation and concerns. The *Takusenki* , the discussion of which begins in Chapter 2, itself was a *shōgyō*, and as will become clear, was profoundly important for the Chūinryū lineage legitimacy and the extraction of knowledge from long-gone Shingon patriarchs and from the kami.

1. Lineage-making and legitimacy

There are some ways in which the problems surrounding the study of the transmission of Buddhism as a whole parallel those involved with the study of transmission within a lineage and the concomitant claims of orthodoxy. Scholarly studies of lineage transmission in China and Japan can offer unconventional methods of studying orthodoxies. For all religions, arguably, confirming and maintaining orthodoxy is a perpetual project; it is what gives a group its boundaries (though it is prompted by "boundary anxiety" as Faure puts it);[86] conversion religions have the burden, for example, of proving their greater legitimacy. In East Asian religions orthodoxy presents a broad topic of inquiry that includes concerns with the processes of influence and counterinfluence, the production of text and objects, questions of authenticity, distortion, and deceit, and precepts and behavior.

[86] Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 9.

There is a link between the transmission of Buddhism from its "origin" through different sites (Central Asia, China, Korea, Vietnam, South Asia, Tibet, Japan, Europe, America and so on) and the ways in which texts were produced in these various sites. Indeed, rather than focus on the transmission of Buddhism as "the propagation of a sacred creed or faith," Robert Sharf points out, relatively recent approaches pioneered by Gregory Schopen have preferred to see it as a "movement," a "diffusion of sacred objects, most notably icons and relics [and the…] technical knowledge required to manipulate them."[87] And since everything—text, object, practice—(even the very earliest records, for example, that purport to be the historical Buddha's words) is at a remove from the imagined origin, all manifestations and productions related to the origin are specimens that can be tested for veracity or falsity, authenticity or corruption. Faure remarks, as does John McRae, on the existence only of Derridean traces that point to an ever-receding origin[88] but practically speaking the purported "original teachings" of the Buddha were the "result of … collective, retentive efforts… the products of a process something like the multiplication of provisional islands of consensus".[89] In any case, one way in which the issue of orthodoxy and orthopraxy (and authenticity) attracts attention is in the process by which systems, beliefs, and practices are both consciously imported (and, less deliberately, spread) as the

[87] Robert H. Sharf, "On the Allure of Buddhist Relics," in *Representations* 66 (Spring, 1999), 77.

[88] Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 27.

[89] Wendi Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 10.

travel companions of traders or immigrants or intermarriages, and how they are adopted, rejected, or blend with existing systems.

There is an oft-perpetuated bias in scholarly treatments of this most fundamental of subjects whereby one system is positoned as an influence on another. But it is more accurate to characterize these processes as producing hybrids out of previous hybrids, with no such pure and unsullied ground upon which influence does its work. This, certainly, is the place where "syncretism" as a term to characterize Japanese medieval religions must be considered. It can do work, but often falls short by describing the conjunction of independent pre-existing traditions. Timon Screech has pointed this out in his work on Western presences in Japan and Japanese visual culture, and it stands just as well for our study of religions. In fact, he pushes beyond even the hybrid as a descriptive term for these processes: "I don't say I study hybrids because that implies other things are not hybrid. Rather it's about contacts. These can sometimes lead to transculturation and ingestion but also, to continue the metaphor, to indigestion and reverse peristalsis."[90] In contrast, Christine Mollier argues for less a process of hybridity/transculturation and more one of mutual mirroring, where (for example) in China, a text was treated by each tradition presenting perfect counterparts, as in the renowned apocryphon, the ("Buddhist") *Sutra of the Three Kitchens*. She dubs this "double guise". Robert Sharf, in *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, likewise complicates the "dialogue model" of Chinese Buddhism as an

[90] Yukio Lippett, "Fantasties and Foreign Contact in the Art History of Japan: Timon Screech in Conversation with Yukio Lippett," *The Art Bulletin*, June 2013 (212-219), 214.

interaction between "two discrete cultural traditions,"[91] and the titular "Currents and Countercurrents" of Robert Buswell's book on Korean Buddhism speaks for itself: the diffusion was not one-way, and waves of influence washed (and continue to wash) in different directions.[92] Of course, periodization, genre, tradition, school/sect, nation, and other boundaried constructs have often been anachronistically imposed on the object of study and to this is paid attention with increasing precision. Nevertheless, alternate constructs remain constructs that obscure even as they bring to light what was previously distorted or concealed by their predecessors. We can perhaps only hope to keep aware of the moving parameters - and treat the subjects within them with a light touch.

The reason I lay out this subject of "hybridity", for want of a better term, is not only to speak of the transmission of Buddhism as an issue of orthodoxy/orthopraxis in both the sense of Buddhism becoming "corrupted" through contact with other cultures, and in the sense that the texts and objects later deemed suspect were an inevitable product of this transmission. It is also to suggest that the currents and countercurrents and mutual influences that evidently occurred might also be assumed in, for example, lineage tables. As John McRae writes, "[e]very time a straight-line relationship between two masters is posited in a lineage diagram, an entire world of complexity, an intricate universe of human relationships and experiences, is effectively eliminated from view. Could any religious figure's identity possibly be adequately summarized by selecting only one out of a whole

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[91] Robert Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 21.

[92] Robert E. Buswell Jr., *Currents and Countercurrents: Korean Influences on the East Asian Buddhist Traditions* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

lifetime of relationships?"[93] The linear diagram is the model that tends to be also used heavily by historians of religions in East Asia when trying to describe, for example, the character of Buddhism in a particular culture. McRae does not deny the fundamental genealogy of Chan (Jp. Zen) (specifically – he and others assert that this is particular to Chan in certain ways, and indeed the insistence on the patriarchal line may be largely to do with the Chinese ancestor cult) but draws attention to the functions served by the way that genealogy is presented. I will explore this a little further. Examples of "hybrids" are numerous, from Bon and Buddhism in Tibet, to Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism in China (the so-called "Buddho-Taoist" relationship has only been seriously addressed since Eric Zurcher's work in the 1970s and the subject gathered further attention with Michel Strickmann, Kristofer Schipper and Christine Mollier's works on the Daozang (道藏) the Taoist textual "canon". Livia Kohn has worked on apologetic works of both religions in order to analyze their encounter with each other. The Vedic systems and Tantra in India, and the latter's and its relation to pre-Aryan groups, or to "magical practices" of "tribes" present a challenge (queried by Wedemayer; supported by, among others, Geoffrey Samuels). And in addition, relatedly, the many localized practices once called "folk" and now more often termed "popular", and which include the pan-Asian realm are still broadly and problematically painted with the same brush as 'shamanism', along with Onmyōdō 陰陽道 and Shugendō, and itinerant "religious" practitioners from *fuse* 巫僧 monks to *bikuni* 比丘尼 nun storytellers. What came to be "organized" religions tend to be seen as

[93] John McRae, *Seeing Through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 7.

incorporating (by contrastive definition) disorganized, pre-existing practice and beliefs. The opposite of this is rarely explored: an example of exploration is Wedemeyer's who points out that marginal communities were less likely to have been the origins of Tantric Buddhism as they were the "targets."[94]

Still, the ways in which these systems converge have provided fertile material for scholars, not only helping to break down false categories established in the modern period (as is well known, the Japanese word/concept for religion itself was a neologism created through issues of international diplomacy and in response to Westernization and modernization in Japan), but also providing new tools to think about taxonomy as a hermeneutic practice, and producing a new archive by bringing to the surface masses of texts previously relegated to a status unworthy of academic inquiry. The ways in which texts were produced in these various sites, and the ways in which "apocrypha" is produced is linked to the movement of Buddhism from its "origin" through different sites. As stated above, it was almost an inevitable product of transmission. It also reflects the more complicated model of "diffusion" broached above. "Apocrypha", for example, were constituted of sutras written in China as (ostensibly) copies of Indian ones, and composed of an "imitation" language. The rhetoric of the Pali sutra will often be used ("Thus have I heard"); names of known figures and local places interposed. The "matching" of Taoist to Buddhist terms was another means of incorporating Buddhist language and concepts. The Buddho-Taoist mutual literary borrowings (and replacement with vernacular equivalents) were not only intended for economic ends (patronage). They were also practiced in thrall to

[94] Christian K. Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism: History, Semiology and Transgression in the Indian Traditions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 26.

a textual mystique. The sheer *number* of texts made produced status and ensured distribution.[95] This motivation is comparable to the prolific output of collections of "secret teachings" by esoteric scholar monks in medieval Japan.

On the topic of apocrypha Christian Wedemeyer inquires, almost as an inconsequential side remark, if and how, and to whom, it is even useful to explain origins? "Spurious" lineages and "forged" texts that were made had everything to do with origins and – even though Wedemeyer's rhetorical question is directed at scholars – it was extremely important and useful for those who produced them to explain origins. (And most likely, scholarly productions that present their own kinds of origin narratives will in turn be scrutinized just as we scrutinize these religious works.) The "production of a new archive" mentioned above is literal in a very physical way: the greatest sealed-archive known in the west (and that which also occupies the present day Buddhist *imaginaire*) is that of the Dunhaung caves which has yielded an vast number of apocryphal scriptures that had been officially excised from the canon (though not all of these or others remained so – some were later incorporated, and this is also a matter of interest). First given attention by Paul Pelliot at the beginning of the twentieth century they garnered further interest in the 1980s and 1990s in the west. They had also been eliminated from the *scholarly* canon after their discovery; this was mainly as a result of the field at the time that was split into philology, closely connected to Buddhology (the study of doctrine) and sinology/literature. A reappraisal has been undertaken by the previously mentioned Robert Buswell, Sato Hiroo, Iyanaga Nobumi and others. Not only do they have their own narrative logic and rules (and

[95] Fröhlich advances an argument with some similarities in her 2007 work on orality and writing, *Rulers, Peasants and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Japan*.

varieties or degrees of falsification, as Iyanaga points out,[96] and as Sørenson[97] notes in distinguishing between "blatant forgery" and augmentation of 'original' texts, and not only do they reveal something of the links between Buddhism and other systems of "cosmic orientation" and literature in China/Japan, and indeed of the work practices of missionaries and monks, but they also give new meaning to the scholar of what "ought to" constitute an object of study. It is obvious that these sutras had a function: they were often popular; interacted with other works; and played a part in the literary, religious, practical landscape of their time. Ignoring them because they are simplistically deemed 'fake' considerably distorts that landscape. This relatively new approach (reappraisal) is clearly related to wider academic turns in the study of literature and art where the function of the canon is seen to serve to buttress class, racial, and gender privileges and where the divide between high and low culture is implicated in these privileges.

Another case of syncretism that came about through the encounter of belief/practice systems, and that could function as a marker (at different times, in different ways) of orthodoxy, and purity (in the Meji attempt at the separation of Buddhism and Shinto) is the blend of "kami worship" (*jingi sūhai*, or *kami*/*jingi shinkō*) and Buddhism in Japan, and the specific trajectory of the "combinations" - "*shinbutsu-shugo.*" In Japan, Murayama Shūichi, Sueki Fumihiko, Ōyama Kōjun, and others have drawn attention to this subject with broad-scale explorations while narrower foci are found in the work of, for example, Hinonishi

[96] Iyanaga Nobumi, "Secrecy, sex and apocrypha: remarks on some paradoxical phenomena," in Bernard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen ed., *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2006), 204-228; 216.

[97] Sørenson, Henrik H., "The Apocrypha and Esoteric Buddhism in China," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia,* edited by Charles Orzech, Henrik Sorensen, and Richard Payne (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 181-196.

Shinjō and Wada Shūjō on Kōyasan practices; Caroline Hirasawa on Tateyama and D. Max Moerman on Kumano. Mountain-based communities are rich mines for this kind of work since they often were home to pre-Buddhist deities of hunting and rivers, as well as, of course, mineral resources, and such subjects lend themselves to territory-centred monograph-type works. The significance of "combinatory" practices and beliefs has also been made evident and led to fruitful insights in the field of art history. Christine Guth's study of Hachiman images opened the path in Western scholarship; in Japan Kageyama Haruki introduced many of the combinatory deities in his work on "Shinto" art. Other more recent works like Karen Brock's on the Kasuga and Sumiyoshi Myōjin—and Sujung Kim's dissertation on Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神[98]—forge the contours of our understanding of combination ever deeper. There are strong indications that other divinities that would *appear* to be products of fusions and originated perhaps in Central Asian forms of Buddhism, such as Aizen Myōō, are Japanese "creations": the "production" then, of this sort of divinity suggests we might take into account the different orders of an image – one that does originate in a different cultural milieu and one that is concocted at home (consciously or not).

It can be said that, in addition to (or perhaps inherent to) the scholarly trends that informed the previous divisory (and sometimes derisory) approach to religions that proposed a pure base contaminated with, for example, an imported system, there may be a racist element. Firstly, as Michael Como has shown (though not explicitly guided by an ethical compass or agenda) with his study of Korean immigrants in ancient Japan, looking

[98] Sujung Kim, *Transcending Locality, Creating Identity: Shinra Myōjin, a Korean Deity in Japan*. (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2014).

closely at the gods can open a new vista that tells us about foreign presences in Japan and their roles, which ranged from mining and metalwork to matrimonial matches with rulers. Scholarship that aligns with nationalist projects, for example, will not be interested in or will deliberately obscure the influence of foreign presence in the past of the nation. Secondly, the splitting up and distinguishing of elements as belonging to one tradition or another strongly resembles efforts to locate racial origins. Related to these two points, Mollier and others have pointed out the more direct xenophobia in Taoist texts like the *Sutra of the Conversion of the Barbarians*. The hierarchized division of "Buddhism" and "Shinto" during the Meiji period in Japan demonstrates the nationalistic expediency of focusing on difference and combinations.

Regardless of the value or non-value of identifying differences and origins (there is conversely damage to be wreaked through the denial of difference), both obscuring the 'fusion' aspects of culture or texts by insisting on a "pure" and thus superior subject acted upon by an illegitimate influence *and* paying attention *to* the different elements can be equally oppressive tactics and so it is the objective of the scholar (and speaker of the traditions) that is of importance rather than the process of parsing itself. Finally, the fact that orthodoxy also has to do with authority should alert us to its patriarchal paradigms, both literally (in the personage of figures invested with 'spiritual' authority) and ideologically (in lineages as conceived as father-son patterns of blood transmission). Needless to say the issue of translation of religious texts is also at large here, bringing us back to the Pali Text Society, early studies of Sanskrit, philology, (and in yet further relation, the way in which such language-focused approaches functioned to position Buddhism in a way that confirmed Christian universalism). And of course, of the earliest

and most important translators (such as Amoghavajra) there are many who augmented the text and re-presented in ways designed to convey their content in the new language, which constitutes another "degree" of falsity. While these issues are beyond the scope of this dissertation, I try to hold them in the background.

I have introduced the two issues of the authenticity of sutras/genealogies and the encounter and combinations of different systems (religions) above and tried to show that they have a point of intersection, in that they both pertain to issues of orthodoxy. In both the exoteric and esoteric traditions the object of apocrypha (and its purge) is to establish legitimacy through respectively authorship/patriarch (often Indian), and the *honji-suijaku* combinatory practices as described in *engi*, but also as formulated elsewhere often functioned for the same purpose – the Kumano deity for example, from India, and merging with a Buddhist one, or a medieval Kōyasan text that speaks of Kūkai travelling to Vulture Peak to receive teachings directly from Shakamuni. So there is a link here. In a sense we could see "syncretism" as a method of authentication as much as a mark of so-called "corruption".

But the matter is not limited to these broad swathes of combinatory systems. More pointedly, concerns with orthodoxy can be identified in particular forms of Mahayana rhetoric, in theories of Chan/Zen patriarchs and in Japanese esoteric teaching transmissions in competing sub and sub-sub-lineages. As Bernard Faure writes on the subject of Chan/Zen, the preoccupation with genealogy is not a "concession… to the spirit of the times," it is the "matter of ancestral relationships that determined from the outset the main

lines of the Chan/Zen pattern of thought."[99] The subject of orthodoxy can be explored on the levels of *doctrine and textual* rhetoric/genealogy production; of *materiality* (copying and circulation of a text or transmission of an object invested with authority); and of *practice* (the ways in which small groups ('sub-branches') distinguished themselves vis-à-vis each other often by, for example, apparently insignificant differences in ritual practices. This is of course some overlap between these categories.

The term "apocrypha" may not be appropriate for the cases of texts rejected from collections by cataloguers in East Asian Buddhism. Touched upon above, in Chinese Buddhist discussions of authenticity, the sutras are divided into the real (Ch. *zhen* 真) or the false (Ch. *wei* 偽)/suspect (Ch. *yi* 疑): whatever is considered a record of the Buddha's words and translated is in the first category; in the second are those written in Chinese (mostly written beginning in the fifth century). Pelliot, and later Mollier and others, recognize how these latter are of value in understanding the encounter between Buddhism and Taoism and how indigenous practices and rituals were re-framed as Buddhist. Mollier states that Taoism in fact was fundamentally formed as an organized religion through its meeting with and identity formation in contrast to Mahayana Buddhism (representative is the Lingbao sect, whose works were subjected to Buddhist efforts at purging during the Tang). The *Sutra of the Conversion of the Barbarians* was a Taoist text based on a legend that dealt with the foreign presence of Buddhism and those associated with it, that claimed Laozi was reborn as the Buddha; this was adapted and written – and also pictorialized - to explain he had done so in order to 'tame" the barbarians. In the fifth or sixth century a

[99] Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, 2.

Buddhist scripture counters it by portraying Laozi and Confucius as bodhisattvas. The confrontations led to prohibitions of the Taoist work promotion in the early eighth century. But this sort of textual production through "mirroring", or what Mollier calls elsewhere a "scriptural mix-and-match game," was quite common between the sixth and eighth centuries. The *Consecration sutra* (*Guanding jing*, or *Kanjōkyō* 灌頂経), examined by Strickman is another compelling example: and it also involves the slightly different textual process of "cutting and pasting" from a variety of texts of Indian Mahayana and Chinese provenance. The ninth century was when "lamp transmission records" began to be made, and also when the era of Chan sutra apocrypha that began in the mid-seventh century – and which had been substantially constitutive of the tradition – ended. These lamp transmission records presented an ideal of Chan that remains persuasive to this day (as McRae discusses) – a mind-to-mind transmission that connects disciple to master and then back through Sakyamuni to the previous buddhas.

Bernard Faure, who has exerted much influence in the field for his work on lineages, illuminates in *The Will to Orthodoxy* the history of Chan through examining texts to show that the rightful successorship of Shenhui to the sixth patriarch in the eighth century had been inappropriately presented in Chan history and by scholars. It appears to have been a sectarian and even derogatorily-driven "win." He also shows that also the two "competing" schools – Northern (allegedly founded by Shenxui) and Southern – were by no means as doctrinally divided (respectively, gradualist and sudden), as they have been represented. Faure shows that the very appellations are misleading: the "Southern school" referred to anyone who threatened the Chan order. Indeed, separation into a mere two (and furthermore, as monolithic opposites, and yet furthermore, as coincident with the break

between subitism amd gradualism) turns out to be simplistic (recalling McRae's cautions about simplistic lineage schema that conceal all sorts of crossovers and relationships, which I give below). Faure also is alert (but with some qualification) to the sociopolitical concerns of the audience of the two (apparently opposing and irreconcilable) positions of the two schools, as a way of identifying the meaning and also the function of his propositions. This attention to audience is, I would argue, vital in examining similar lineage differences in other cultures and contexts (such as the Japanese ones I discuss below). Faure's is a re-visioning and re-evaluation of the history of Chan through the re-examination of these schools, their positions, and the ways these have been understood.

Faure has a number of successors in the lineage of lineage-scholars. Wendi Adamek's *The Mystique of Transmission* takes up the eighth century (Dunhuang) text, the *Lidai fabaoji*, which is known for being shot through with fabrications in service to its aim of self-promotion: part of this creativity was its accounts surrounding the transmission of a robe told to be originally from Empress Wu, then from Hongren to Huineng, and central to authority (originally from Bodhidharma). This transmission, it claimed, cemented the Bao Tang schools' superiority. By the Song period, the Chan tradition was of such prestige that it was able to produce a canonical view of its origins that subsumed past history. Adamek points up some contradictions in the Chan concern with its lineage maintenance: that between the value of absolute immediacy and of teaching and preserving a heritage, for example, or the paradoxical nature of the Sangha itself, given Sakyamuni's ideal of monks as wandering Dharma teachers only gathering in the rainy seasons, or that of innate enlightenment versus transmission of Dharma. And she concerns herself with the rhetorical

strategies that make transmission of authority possible (the investiture of an individual with power) and the political aspects of transmitting versions of history.

Another scholar following in the footsteps of Faure is Elizabeth Morrison, who pursues some similar issues as Adamek in *The Power of Patriarchs*.[100] She identifies the patriarch as a new source of authority that emerges in China (and most of all in Chan) – not India – and diffused through East Asia. The *Baolin zhuan* (Chronicle of the Baolin [Monastery] (801) is where the clear outlines of the patriarchal tradition of Chan can first be seen, and a Chan lineage from Sakyamuni through Mahakasyapa through Bodhidharma and Huineng and his "principal disciples" is delineated but Morrison focuses on the early Song discourse of lineage, and the invention of tradition, focusing on the work of Mingjiao Qisong, a scholar monk of the 11th century. The discourse of patriarch and lineage was in part a reaction to imported sutras, in part an appeal for patronage, and, for Qisong, a pushback at Tiantai accusations of Chan's suspect lineage. Morrison's analysis of Qisong's work illuminates an extremely important point: that, while he was "fabricating", he simply could not "contemplate Buddhist history as anything but a matter of Dharma transmission". This point alone, and the analysis that underpins it, might be one to remember in attempting to understand the histories of Buddhism which are imbued with the idea of transmission.

Turning to the problem of orthodoxy in Japanese Buddhism, before narrowing in on Kōyasan and the Chūinryū, we might begin with visual iconography. A prescribed motif of Shingon patriarch portraits is a water pitcher at the foot of the patriarch depicted. This is a visual citation of the liquid metaphor that channels the rhetoric of transmission from India

[100] Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs: Qisong and Lineage in Chinese Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

to Japan. The "dharma vessel" – recipient of the dharma was envisioned in sutras as akin to the Buddha's disciple Ananda with his prodigious memory. Telling the sutras to him was, for the *Nirvana sutra* Buddha, like "pouring water into a single vessel". The Mahayana dharma itself is portrayed in sutras as an "ocean" or a great, nourishing rain. Charlotte Eubanks describes the nature of this "Dharma vessel."[101] Initiation, in esoteric Buddhism, is based on Indian practices of kingly consecration, where the new ruler has water from the "four oceans" (i.e. all corners of the world) dripped on to his head. In medieval Japan, the language governing lineages and teaching traditions is one of water and blood: there are "correct streams" or "corrupted streams" (shōryū 正流, jaryū 邪流, jagi 邪義) and, perhaps subverting the aqueous rhetoric of "streams," the erroneous and heretical are to be "broken:" *haja* 破邪 . It likely draws, in part, on the idea of the "dharma vessel" found in the sutras and discussed above. While McRae is adamant that his argument is specific to Chan, a comment he makes about the function of lineage diagrams holds true for esoteric Buddhism in Japan: "Even a quick look at the biographies of Chinese Chan masters shows the extent of the distortion involved: where the sources are adequate, we sometimes see multiple awakening experiences catalyzed by different teachers and events, yet in the lineage diagrams these are all reduced to single lines of transmission."[102] This is echoed by Mark Teeuwan, who writes in his discussion of the Japanese esoteric Buddhist communities a "chaotic world of medieval secret transmissions…a tangle of live wires" in their overlapping and not always linear or exclusive conferrals and exchanges of

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[101] Charlotte Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body: Japanese Textual Culture and Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 54-55.

[102] McRae, *Seeing Through Zen*, 7.

teachings.[103] Perhaps we could use these as cues to see Shingon (and other) lineages as less "arborescent", to use Deleuze's term (and which applies perfectly to the English terms used to translate Japanese "branches"), and more "rhizomatic", giving not only a portrait of a certain moment in history but also offering a potential model for study. In any case, the lineages as they stand today must be referred to with much caution: the basic separation of "traditions" into "schools" or "sects" has been identified as the misguided project of Western scholars trying to impose a Western frame over non-Western systems, originating in dominating colonialists who described "natives" in Christian terms. In his study of Kūkai and esoteric Buddhism in Japan, Abe Ryūichi also points out that the founder of the Shingon school did not intend to set up a new "school" of Buddhism.[104] In fact, however, such parsing of groups can be found *within* "traditions" as well, and is an act, similarly, of domination and the retroactive arrangement of power. Nevertheless, still other factors make the premodern composition of various groups difficult to accurately reconstruct: the *danka seidō* (檀家制度 parishioner system) of the Edo period which required all families be affiliated with a particular temple brought significant change; the post Second World War recognition of fifty-six lineages and thirteen sects is also ill-applied to the premodern religious landscape.

The chronicles, histories and biographies of Shingon monks demonstrate just what McRae's Chan works do, as does a cursory comparison of Shingon lineage diagrams from

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[103] Mark Teeuwen, "Knowing vs. Owning a Secret: secrecy in medieval Japan as seen through the sokui kanjō enthronement unction," in eds. Bernheid Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religions (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 198.

[104] Ryūichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kukai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia university Press, 2000).

different periods. If we consider the reason for accessing and receiving transmissions of Buddhist knowledge, the necessity for lineage legitimization and maintenance as well as accusations of heresy may become more evident. Receiving transmission was not purely for soteriological ends, as a means of working toward and reaching enlightenment. It was (at least also) for status, and as such it resembled an inheritance of "family" trade secrets; in fact it came to have this function, for there were transmissions and initiations for Noh theatre, poetry, kami-related issues, and for technological crafts - as discussed by Fabio Rambelli in *Buddhist Materiality* and in "The Ritual World of Buddhist Shinto."[105] To speak of such transmissions one must speak of *denbō kanjō*, which is the template initiation for it, and its objective of inserting the initiate into a stream of members. Rambelli writes, in a description of the ceremony, that "the setting [furnished with portraits of the human patriarchs] is … a replica of the entire Shingon tradition; the ritual aims at putting the initiate on the same level as those patriarchs in an operation that *denies history* and emphasizes instead unchanging continuity."[106] I emphasis the denial of history as, with the progression of this dissertation, I will introduce examples of memorial rites, among others, as well as mystically received teachings that leap across temporal barriers and halted history in order to reinstate key moments fundamental to keeping a community intact.

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[105] Fabio Rambelli, "The Ritual World of Buddhist Shinto: The Reikiki and Initiations on Kami Related Matters in Late Medieval and Early Modern Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies,* (2002): 265-297 and *Buddhist Materiality: A Cultural History of Objects in Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

[106] Rambelli, "The Ritual World of Buddhist Shinto, 269; my italics.

2. The Chūin-ryū at Kōyasan

For Shingon, a summary of the Chūin-ryū, which is a mainstream branch today, can only give a shallow impression of the proliferation of sub-branches. The Chūin-ryū is a sub-branch of the Zuishin'in (随心院) branch, itself a sub-branch (*shiryū* 支流) of the Ono-ryū as opposed to the Hirosawa-ryū: these two were the major early divisions of Shingon (the former founded by Shōbō (聖宝 832-909) and the latter by Yakushin (益信 827-906). The Chūin-ryū presented its a certain formulation of its development in the thirteenth century, precisely at the point that sub-branches were multiplying most rapidly, and in keeping with others, it differed in small ways, with a slightly varying mudra, mantra, or "secret teachings". The Chūin-ryū claimed that it originated with the transmission of "secret teachings" about Kōyasan (also known as the "old teachings of Koyasan") ostensibly passed from Shingon founder Kūkai to nephew-disciple Shinzen. This occurred, it was said, on Kūkai's passing when he entrusted leadership of the mountain community to Shinzen. The three main teachings of this set were the *Daitō no daiji* (大塔の大事 *Essentials of the Great Pagoda*), *Nanzan hachiyo no hiji* (南山八葉の大事 *Secrets of the Eight-petalled Southern Mountain*) and *Go-Sōjō no daiji* (後僧正の大事 *Great Abbot's*[107] *Essentials*) and they came to be called *Chūin-ryū san ka no daiji* (中院流三箇の大事; *The Three Essentials of the Chūin-ryū*).

[107] Shinzen, who was titled Shinzen Daitoku (the latter word a common title meaning, literally, "great virtue").

According to tradition these teachings had been lost at Kōyasan but transmitted to Heiankyō (Kyoto) before being brought *back* to Kōyasan by official founder Meizan (明算 1021-1106)[108] who had received them from his teacher Seison (成尊 1012-1074) in 1072 at Ono Mandaraji (小野曼荼羅寺) Zuishin'in 随心院 cloister in Kyoto (founded by Ningai 仁海 951-1046). Various lines streamed from Meizan – to Kyōshin 教真 of Chūin cloister (or rather, Ryūkō'in, as it was commonly known at the time) and to Ryōzen 良禅(1048-1139)[109] of Kitamurō'in 北室院, with the former severed during the time of Genshō 源照 since it seems to have been mixed with "heresy" (namely, those called Tachikawa branch teachings, and branded by Yūkai as corrupt.[110] Genshō was the sixth head of Ryūkō'in, sacred original residence of Kūkai and one-time home of Meizan, the Chūin-ryū. It was Ryōzen's transmission, meanwhile, that flourished, even though at one point he was removed from his *kengyō* post by an increasingly powerful leader, Kakuban, and replaced with Shin'e. His line led through Myōnin 明任 to Dōhan, and it split roughly into up to eight different lines with those today passed down at Kōyasan being the Injō'in-kata 引接院方, Shinnan'in-kata 心南院方, Dairaku'in-kata 大楽院方 and Chishōgo'in-kata 智荘厳

[108] Meizan became the twelfth *kengyō* of Kōyasan. He hailed from Kanzaki 神崎 in Naga 那賀, near to Kōyasan, and was of the Satō clan.

[109] Celebrated as a scholar monk, according to the *Kōyasan ōjō den*, Ryōzen was also the first *local kengyō*. He came from Naga, Kanzaki (in the Tanaka estate), was a member of the Sakanoue clan and had practiced at Kōyasan since a young age arriving at the age of eleven (the same, it seems, as Meizan, who was also of Kanzaki but of the Satō clan). He was trained by Ninson Sanro and received the *Ryōkai kanjō* initiation. He is credited with a number of construction projects as well as having transmitted teachings to a large number of *deshi*.

[110] See Ōyama, "Himitsu bukkyō Kōyasan Chūin-ryū no kenkyū (josetsu)," and Yūkai, *Hōkyōshō*. Trans. Pol vanden Broucke (Ghent: Rijksuniversitat Gent, 1992).

院方 (acronymically abbreviated to *Inshindaichi* 引心大智).[111] The four branches were formed over a period of less than two hundred years after Meizan's death and are also known as the *Inge sōjō* 院家相承 (which denotes the four Chuin school branches as integrated into one major school. This was undertaken by Genkai 玄海 of Hōsho'in 宝性院. In the fourteenth century, Yūkai reformed this. We will encounter all these figures throughout this study. Genkai was, like Dōhan, a second generation *deshi* (弟子; monastic student) of Kakukai, and one of the "eight greats of Kōya" (*Kōya hakketsu* 高野八傑). With Shinken, Shinnichi and Kakuwa (覚和 c.1260-c.1324) (three other members of this illustrious group), he worked to rebuild Kongobuji as a scholarly center after conflicts had damaged its institutions. The others, Hosshō 法性 (?-1245), Shōso and Shinben 真辨 (?-c.1262) all vitally feature too in connection with *Takusenki* and the visual and textual culture of mid-thirteenth century Kōyasan. In fact, a direct line can be drawn through Meizan to Dōhan to Yūkai via oracle texts and the art connected to them.

Yūkai, some two centuries after this, paid special attention to the lineages of Genshō and Ryōzen in his bid to rid the Chūin-ryū, and Kōyasan, of corrupted teachings. But he paid an equal measure of attention to Dōhan and his close follower Myōchō 明澄 because the latter had received instruction not only from Dōhan but also from Kakumei 覚明 who had, Yūkai claimed, mixed similarly impure teachings into his repertoire.[112] He cut

[111] For further details, consult Toganoo *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 239-266 and Ōyama Kōjun, *Chūin-ryū no kenkyū* 中院流の研究. Tokyo: Tohō Shuppan 東方出版, 1987), 29-32.

[112] Oyama, "Himitsu bukkyō Kōyasan Chūin-ryū no kenkyū (josetsu)," 157.

off this line.[113] Myōchō, it is thought, may have been the compiler of a collection of secret teachings about Kōyasan, the *Kōyasan hiki* (高野山秘記 "Secret Records of Kōyasan"), [114] though Dōhan is also considered the possible compiler: this text will be discussed further ahead. Suffice it to say that *Takusenki*, an oracle text replete with rather unusual new teachings; references to Meizan; resolutely Chūin-ryū-focused; and apparently concerned with an illegitimate master (about which more is discussed in Chapter 3)—and produced by Dōhan's circle, which included Myōchō—came under Yūkai's scrutiny as he set about his community organization.

The Chūin-ryū claimed to have come into possession of some other "old teachings," also traceable to Kūkai but acquired not through direct speech to Shinzen. Rather, founder Meizan is described as having received certain *hiketsu* (秘決 secret teachings) teachings about Kōyasan from Kūkai via Shinzen in 1075. How was this possible when both founder and his disciple were long gone? The conventional transmission of doctrine was circumvented in a way that conforms, one could say, to a larger category of Mahayana access. The above-mentioned text entitled *Kōyasan hiki* which presented itself as a compilation of these, states that these particular teachings were "texts" in the forms of scrolls (*makimono* 巻物) of "transmission seals") (*injin* 印信) oral transmissions (*kuketsu* 口訣), records (*ki* 記), and ritual instructions (*shidai* 次第), and that they were perceived

[113] See Yūkai's *Chūin-ryū koto* 中院流事 (T. 2505).

[114] *Kōyasan hiki* was likely produced slightly earlier than the Henmyō'in oracle text, in the first half of the mid-thirteenth century by Dōhan and/or perhaps, as mentioned, Myōchō or another of his followers. Published with commentary by Abe Yasurō. For more on its background, see Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 31-32. It is printed in Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 and Yamazaki Makoto 山崎誠, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi shū* 中世高野山縁起集, Tokyo: Rinsen shoten, 1999, 346-361, and Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 88-101.

(*kantoku* 感得) by Meizan in either a dream (*musō* 夢想) or in a vision (*jigen* 示現) of the *kōsō* (高祖; “eminent patriarch-ancestor," i.e Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai)). The dream directed him to the location of the texts, which was Okuno’in, a significant site at Kōyasan since it was where Kūkai was believed to be residing in a meditative state until the coming of Miroku.[115] It was there that Meizan had unearthed the *shōgyō.* This “matter of unearthing” (埋法事), as it was called, is explained in a text which relates that, upon retrieval, Shinzen (Kūkai’s disciple), manifested (*yōgo*) and conferred them.[116] The significance of Shinzen is likely in his capacity as transmitter of mudras, mantras, and explanations of the text; masters were essential for the transmission of teachings and such were invalid without their role, as is emphasized by monks alarmed by the loss of exiled teachers, discussed in Chapter 2. In fact, one of the worst transgressions of an esoteric practitioner was learning and practicing without the proper transmission from of an Ajari master. This was termed *ossanmaya* 越三昧耶. Such was explained in the *Shobutsu kyōkai shō shinnjitsu kyō* 諸仏境界摂真実経 part of the *Kongochōkyō* sutra 金剛頂経, with which all Shingon monks were familiar, as graver than the five most heinous transgressions. Committing it would result in falling into a hell from which emergence was impossible.[117] The fascinating explanation of the “production” of the *Kōyasan Hiki* for the transmission of lineage

[115] At least two notions, not necessarily contradictory, of Kōbō Daishi’s presence co-existed during this period: that he was at Okuno’in awaiting Miroku, at which time he would emerge, and also that he was in Tosotsuten with Miroku.

[116] My italics. Iyanaga, “Secrecy, sex and apocrypha: remarks on some paradoxical phenomena,” 217; Kōda Yūun. “Chūinryū no jaryū o tsutaeta hitobito” in *Mikkyō bunka* 135 (1981) 19-37, 21. The text that explains the incident is the *Gisho mokuroku narabini jagi kyōron* 偽書目録并邪義経論.

[117] T. 0868.18.0272605 – 0272609.

teachings gives an indication of some of the strategies of legitimation and claims to orthodoxy of the time.

The rhetoric of legitimacy (and also of urgency) has echoes in writings regarding contemporary burials of texts in walls or boxes. In her study of the culture of secret transmission in medieval Japan, Jacqueline I. Stone writes on the strict protocols informing proper transfer of teachings. In the case of a certain set of medieval *kuden* (口伝; textualized oral transmissions) she notes that they were guarded against improper transmission in a remarkably material way. "If there is no one qualified to receive it, this transmission should be buried in the depths of a wall," a writer instructs his reader.[118] In Japan, sutras were devoted to Miroku and literally buried in containers in anticipation of this Buddha's future emergence, a concept and practice that falls into a category of transmissions and "treasures" awaiting their time to be discovered.[119] Statesman Fujiwara Michinaga's desire for his buried offering of sutras was that, in the future, and for the purpose of education in Dharma, they would "spontaneously well up out of the earth."[120] The burial of such things is the counterpart, or prefiguration, to "discoveries" of all kinds, and "retrieval" of a teaching from an unusual source, on the appearance of a qualified recipient, belongs to this broad set of methods of access to knowledge (it also of course recalls the "treasure revealers" of Tibet. The ideas embedded in burial and disinterment

[118] Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 142.

[119] On sutra burial in Japan, see Max D. Moerman, "The Death of the Dharma: Buddhist Sutra Burials in Early Medieval Japan," in Kristina Myrvold ed. *The Death of Sacred Texts: ritual disposal and renovation of texts in world religions* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2010).

[120] Translation by Moerman in his "The Death of the Dharma," 83.

resonate with the definition of Mahayana and esoteric doctrine in the conditions of knowledge access as dependent on the absence or presence of one worthy of, and with the capability of, receiving it, as is suggested by the Mahayana "origin" tale where teachings are discovered in the Naga undersea palace, kept there until the world was ready for them. Of course, *Takusenki* as an oracle text was also a type of transmission that circumvented conventional means whilst retaining an orthodox Buddhist master.

No doubt, as Iyanaga Nobumi has pointed out in discussing other "suddenly discovered" sacred texts of the period, such situations needed the stamp of legitimacy since they defined lineages that were competing for patronage.[121] And, drawing on Faure's approach where he pays attention to the audience of, for example, Shenxiu's subitism, one might note that this was an increasingly booming period of pilgrimage at Kōyasan and bone burials (that produced funds for the temple complex) near the tomb of the founder. The lineage with access to "old teachings" of the mountain founder, that were specifically about the mountain, would surely be attractive to aristocratic patrons and to those of lesser monetary means who entrusted their ancestors' remains. The strategies of legitimation of teachings, traditions and lineages, have been varied and this introduction gives but a small insight, as well as a suggestion of the sources of the rhetoric behind them (of water; blood; concealment; disinterment and so on). But the Chūin-ryū's claims to the legitimacy of their line as authentic, and as traceable back to the founder, relied on such strategies of transmission. In the same vein they sought dominance of an important administrative post at Kōyasan: that of the *kengyō*.

[121] Iyanaga, "Secrecy, sex and apocrypha."

3. The Kengyō role, the Chūin-ryū monopoly, and closeness to the founder

Abe Ryūichi translates *kengyō* as "inspector general" while Royall Tyler gives the definition as "an officer who had overall supervisory responsibility for a temple complex."[122] *Ken* is an abbreviation of *tenken* 点検 and *gyō* of *tengyō* 典校. The post is one of "inspector" of rules and precedents and had been an occasional clerical post since the Nara period and there were *kengyō* at other sites, such as the Tendai school Mudōji and Kumano Sanzan. It was in fact an abbreviation of a full title "kengyō shigyō". At Kōyasan the title *hōin dai wajōi* 法印大和尚位 first began to be used after Go-Uda Tennō's pilgrimage to Kōyasan in 1313, and it signifies the same position as *kengyō*. But there was another element to the role of *kengyō* at Kōyasan: it was considered as not just a leadership role but as a stand-in for Kūkai. In significant part, this is because Kūkai was not considered permanently gone but only temporarily absent.

In her study of Kōyasan, Shirai takes this a little further. She observes that the takusen and dream-messages at sites other than Kōyasan were frequently purveyed in visions by mysterious monastic figures who played intermediary between the sites and the pilgrims who increasingly visited them. However, she adds, since at Kōyasan the "much stronger" presence of Kōbō Daishi in his living body in a state of enlightenment (生身 *shōjin*; and called, in this state "Nyūjō Daishi" 入定大師[123] or "eternally meditating

[122] Abe, *From Kūkai to Kakuban*, 308 and Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 177.

[123] This way of referring to Kukai's passing emphasizing meditation rather than death is found early on, in the *Kongōbuji konryū shugyō engi* foundation narrative.

Daishi") was protected by the resident monks who acted as *kengyō* and were administrating in his absence, they [the *kengyō*] may be said to have been mediators to the spiritual world.[124] This is a fascinating point, and it becomes pertinent and convincing when we examine the education and debates as the keys to promotion to leader of the community and as "enactments" of an encounter between Kūkai and the Myōjin.

Who were the *kengyō* and what was their special relationship to Kūkai based on? Before shifting into the definition of the administrative role and a discussion of the Chūin-ryū's positions in this role, I want to briefly describe the connection between the Chūin-ryū and Kōyasan itself. As mentioned already, although today Kongōbuji is that name of both the administrative headquarters of Kōyasan and also signifies the Koyasan collective of temples as a whole, the meaning of this label has changed throughout history. Londo notes that from the Heian period, maps do not show any temple as "Kongōbuji" and that "apparently at that time the label Kongōbuji covered the entire complex, such that when visitors were said to pay their respects at Kongōbuji, it indicates a visit to the Chūin".[125] In fact, in the 野山妙霊集 *Yasan myōreishū* we are told that monks occupied Chuin after Kūkai's death and administrated the mountain from there as their headquarters.[126] The Chūin-ryū then, as the name suggests, derived their identity from the name of Kūkai's residence at Kōyasan. And from Meizan's time onward, it would seem, they made

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[124] Shirai Yūko 白井優子, *Inseiki Kōyasan to Kūkai nyūjō densetsu* 院政期高野山と空海入定伝説, (Tokyo: Dōseisha 同成社, 2002), 242.

[125] Londo, *The Other Mountain*, 42.

[126] Myōyū Taien 明宥泰円,*Yasan myōreishū* 野山妙霊集 , ed. Hinonishi Shinjō 日野西眞定 (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 名著出版 1979), vol. 1, 44.

concerted efforts to re-establish the "original" teachings of Kobo Daishi, and to reinforce their primacy in Kōyasan.

Since Mukū 無空, the original *zasu* of Koyasan, had departed (with no less than thirty important written works) in 916 the *chōja* of Tōji was given the simultaneous role of *kengyō* of Koyasan as well, but was based in the capital, a considerable distance from Koyasan. The role had been created after a disastrous fire made the need for on-site leadership clear. Though it is said that the *kengyō* system began with Gashin 雅真[127] in the mid-tenth century, the kengyo post at Koyasan only became *a regular post* in 1136 (Hoen 2) with the appointment of Shinyo (真誉). In 1134, when Kakuban became, for a very short time, head of Kongōbuji and of Daidenbōin, he had Shin'e installed in the *kengyo* post which was *already* occupied by the monk Ryōzen. As previously noted, Ryōzen had inherited Meizan's Chūin-ryū line. According Shirai, Ryōzen's stream of followers as *kengyō* exemplify a branch that ought to be termed, she states, the "Kōyasan branch" – Kongōbuji representatives, scholar monks, all *locals* supported, she says, by powerful regional clans.[128] Ryōzen is a significant figure in our understanding of the *Henmyō'in Takusen ki* as a text central to the identity of the Chūin-ryū precisely because he was a direct follower of Meizan, the founder of the Chūin-ryū. According to Shirai, Chūin-ryū

[127] Known as Izumo Kōshi (出雲講師 "lecturer of Izumo"). Hosshō, in the conflicts discussed in Chapter 2, was exiled here while Dohan was dispatched to Zentsūji. These sites may have been chosen for their resonance in Kōyasan's history, as places from which the earliest leaders had come, and whose restoration and reinforcement would have benefited the Chūin-ryū. This point invites further study.

[128] Shirai, *Inseiki Kōyasan to Kūkai nyūjō densetsu*, p. 219.

was the main, orthodox branch at Koyasan during this period.[129] That Ryōzen's position was usurped may be seen as an intervention in the Chūinryū monopoly of this important post since, as mentioned, aside from Kakuban and his follower (the 15th and 16th *kengyō*), and one other person, Chūin-ryū members had been *kengyō* since Meizan in 1089.[130] In his *kengyō* role, Ryōzen worked with Kanjō (then *zasu* of Koyasan and *ichinochoja* of Toji) to reconstruct Kōyasan, and to advance the "cult" around Kobo Daishi.[131] Not only this, but he and Meizan had conferred teachings on to Nyohō Shōnin, whose vision of Niu Myōjin, and consequent connection with Chūin-ryū legitimacy, is discussed in Chapter 4. This network of affiliations, especially Ryōzen's link with Meizan, is without doubt of relevance to the removal from his position of power by Kakuban.

Chūin-ryū founder Meizan was an early *kengyō* and as mentioned was the first Chūin-ryū *kengyō*, and like his *deshi* Ryōzen (who was of the Sakanoue clan), he hailed from Kanzaki in Naga,[132] not far from the temple site at Kōyasan. According to the *Shunju* chronicle he was taught by Kishin – a monk closely associated with first *kengyō* Gashin, and celebrated as the reviver of Koyasan after its decline. I will look more closely at Kishin and the celebration of his role by the Chūin-ryū in Chapters 4 and 7 when I discuss paintings related to him, but it should be noted here that because Meizan and Ryōzen passed teachings to Nyohō there was a line from Kishin through these two to Nyohō which

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[129] Which has come to be called *Inseiki* 院政期 since a series of Retired Emperors (*In* 院) exercised more power than the actual emperors who were often young boys. This period has been dated to 1087 to1221, based on the period between the rules of retired rulers Shirakawa and Go-Toba.

[130] He was twelfth *kengyō* of Kōyasan. See previous mention and Shirai, *Inseiki Kōyasan to Kūkai Nyūjō densetsu*, 215.

[131] See Chapter 6, in which debate history is discussed.

[132] Of the Satō clan; Ryōzen was of the Sakanoue clan, as noted above.

is reflected in paintings and their inscriptions. Meizan's immediate successor as *kengyō* was his deshi Jōshin 定深, another local (this time from Arida).[133] Ryōzen was first Jōshin's *shigyo-dai* (deputy) (in 1108), and subsequently was made *kengyō* in 1125. After the three years of Kakuban's *kengyō* administration, when Ryōzen was reappointed as 17th *kengyō*, *every* monk to fill this role (except his immediate successor, Shōnin 聖仁) up to the 23rd *kengyō* was one of his direct initiates, and *until the end of the Inseiki period, every kengyō was of his Chuin-ryu line*,[134] which presented itself as leading back to the founder himself. Moreover, with a single exception[135]*every single one was a local of Kii province*.[136] This extraordinary monopoly is the backdrop to which the Chūin-ryū literature, its teachings and practices, including its onetime prized oracle, must be viewed. And conversely, these must be considered in any examination of the exercise of power at the temple complex, between Kōyasan and other large temples and sites of power, and at its estates.

Shirai writes that the Chūin-ryū's domination of the *kengyō* post was tacitly accepted as a custom, because the *kengyō* was only ever seen as a stand-in for the *zasu* of Kongōbuji who, based at Tōji, was in fact absent from Kōyasan (though she also writes, as mentioned above, that the *kengyō* also had the role as representative of Kūkai himself). Those occupying the *kengyō* position did not, she writes, attempt to attack other branch

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[133] *Kōyasan kengyō chō* 高野山検校帳 as cited in Shirai *Inseiki Kōyasan to Kūkai nyūjō densetsu,* 218.

[134] Shirai *Inseiki Kōyasan to Kūkai nyūjō densetsu,* 218.

[135] That of Shunkaku, 22nd kengyō.

[136] Shirai, *Inseiki Kōyasan to Kūkai nyūjō densetsu,* 218.

practices or seek (economic) independence from Tōji.[137] The dissatisfaction with which Kakuban's takeover was met, however, as well as the later vitriol expressed by leading Chūin-ryū figures regarding the status of the Daidenbōin monks in the thirteenth century evidences that at some point Kōyasan's senior administrators in fact did begin to protect their own branch interests and, as discussed previously, sought independence as well. These currents of change should be understood within the larger context of *kenmon jiin* temple establishment. This later period was one in which Kōyasan was shaping itself into a powerful economic monastic center like Hieizan and Kōfukuji.

The oracle at Henmyō'in had, according to Yūkai, been delivered in order to transmit the correct Chūin-ryū branch teachings to the then head of the cloister who, without this transmission, was unqualified for his position. The text was officially included in the Chūin-ryū collection of *shōgyō* branch texts. And that now qualified head of Henmyōin was also made *kengyō* (the 72nd in the line). It is unclear as to where Yūkai got his information (and this is discussed in Chapter 3) - but if he was right, then the oracle sufficed as a legitimate means of transmission, just as Meizan's unearthing of text had been.

4. On Henmyō'in and its connection with Chūin

Materially, Henmyō'in cloister, where the oracle had occurred, no longer exists. It had been next to Chūin (Ryūko'in) since the Heian period, then it became one with Injōin, and then

[137] Shirai, *Inseiki Kōyasan to Kūkai nyūjō densetsu,* 219.

with Shōjōshin'in. According to the *Zenkoku jiin meiran* 全国寺院名鑑 ("Encyclopedia of Temples and Cloisters in Japan") it burned down in 1864. But it, in fact, burned in 1888 (the "great fire" of Meiji 21) (which must partly account for the paucity of materials related to it) and until that time it had always been located on the eastern side of Ryūkō'in in the Chūin-dani 蓮華谷 area. It was rebuilt then later assimilated into Shōjōshin'in cloister in another area of the temple complex.[138] It was probably around the end of the Meiji period that it shifted to Rengein-dani 蓮華谷, though the exact date is unclear.[139] It had been taken over without alteration by Injoin 引摂院, sometime after the end of Meiji period, who relocated to Henmyō'in's original site. These buildings were situated in what is today part of Ryūkō'in's land.[140] It then burned down again several times and was not rebuilt.

Henmyō'in was founded early in Kōyasan's history, by Shinnyo (真如),[141] an imperial prince and direct disciple of Kūkai. It is Shinnyo to whom the conventional portrayal of Kūkai is attributed (the portrait form known as *Shinnyo miei* 真如御影). The cloister name originates with him, as he was also known as "Henmyō." These cloisters were distinct from

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[138] During the twentieth century, the old buildings of Henmyō'in were taken over by the Injō'in cloister, and both were amalgamated with Chūin. See 'Henmyō'in' entry in *Zenkoku jiin meikan*, 全国寺院名鑑, Tokyo: Zenkoku jiin meikan kankōkai 全国寺院名鑑刊行会, 1976), 340, and Mizuhara Gyōei 水原堯榮, *Kōyasan no Chūin o meguru: Shikei no konjaku* 高野山の中院をめぐる〜四谷の今昔, (Wakayama: Kōyasan shuppansha 高野山出版社, 1956), 37.

[139] In the Kinki region section of the above record, Henmyō'in's address is given as "Kōyasan 514-2" and the head priest's name is that of scholar monk 山岸栄岸 This book was published in 1970 and although Shōjōshin'in count this priest as one in their own genealogy, this indicates that Henmyō'in was absorbed into that temple and so the priest was head of both, in a sense. Today a small apartment block (東根院マンション) occupies the area Henmyō'in was shifted to (the shape and extent of Shōjōshin'in's own territory has since morphed).

[140] Mizuhara, *Kōyasan no Chūin o meguru: Shikei no konjaku*, 37.

[141] Prince Takaoka 高丘親王 (799- c.865).

other monastic institutions since they were normally affiliated with imperial figures. According to Asuka Sango, "what created and maintained a cloister was the practice of transmission through which a master passed down to his disciple his teachings as well as economic resources."[142] Henmyō'in was located next to a temple residence named Chūin, the original residence of Kōbō Daishi. "Chūin" also designated an important section of the "eight-petalled Southern Mountain", the appellation for Kōyasan as a central area ringed by eight peaks that resembled a lotus flower, or more specifically, the eight-petalled inner platform cloister of the Womb World mandala (*Taizōkai mandarazu no chūdai hachiyō'in* 胎蔵曼荼羅図の中台八葉院). Significantly, Dōhan's *Kōya kusetsu* (*Oral teachings about Kōya*) texts are among the oldest to explain these appellations and mandalizations.[143] Meizan, aforementioned founder of the Chūin-ryū, lived and died here, and the name of his sub-branch derived, of course, from the name of the residence,[144] those its multivalence as "central" amid the local mountain peaks, as mandalaic, on a macro-level, and even as Tosotsuten-related (Tosotsuten, too, had a "central pavilion") gave it extra heft on both the transcendental and the local levels in the branch's claims to be the authentic lineage among many competing ones.

An output of new theories about Kōbō Daishi and the deities by the Chūin-ryū specifically, such as we will see in the following chapters, coincides with their actual rise to

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[142] Sango, "Buddhist Debate and the Production and Transmission of Shōgyō in Medieval Japan," 255.

[143] See the Kōyasan Reihōkan museum website: http://www.reihokan.or.jp/yomoyama/various/mount/hachiyo/utisoto.html (accessed December 1st, 2013).

[144] In Meizan's time it was also called Ryūkō'in, and generally is known by this name today.

power and authority at Kōyasan with, for example, the installation of Ryōnin as *kengyō* and Dōhan as *shugyō-dai* ("deputy *kengyō*") in 1237. Ryōnin was head priest of Injō-in (also situated near Henmyōin; in later times, as mentioned, the latter merged with it). Ryōnin was born in Izumi, and his teacher had been the previous *kengyō*, Kakuzen 覚善. In 1238 Ryōnin left Kōyasan because of appointment conflicts, though later in the same year he returned, and was appointed head priest (*Inju* 院主) of Shōrenge'in as well as *Inju* of Amano. The latter appointment was made by Dōshin 道深 (1206-1249) Hōshinnō of Ninnaji in 1239. Dōshin (known as Kongōjōin Onmurō 金剛定院御室), son of Go-Takakurain 後高倉院, had the right at that time to appoint *Inju* since the prerogative to choose both *Inju* and *kannushi* was Ninnaji's. It was soon, however, to become Kongōbuji's, as it spread its proprietory hand over Amano in the 13th century. Ninnaji, as I discuss in Chapter 2, had also the right to appoint the head of Daidenbōin, a cloister-faction whose growing power the Chūin-ryū sought to suppress. Its founder, Kakuban, originated at Ninnaji.

From the mid-Heian period onward, Ninnaji had been amplifying its advances toward Kōyasan. Hyōtani suggests this was because Ninnaji had assumed control of the Daishi Nyūjō legend and was expanding its influence. That Kakuhō Hōshinnō's (覚法法親王 1092-1153; son of emperor Shirakawa) bones were buried at Kōyasan might also have been a factor. This is the oldest documented example of the burial of bones at Okuno'in because it was believed to be the Pure Land of Miroku. Two figures of importance in the matter of Ninnaji's interest in Kōyasan are the teacher of Kakuhō's older brother Kakugyō, Seishin, and his teacher Saishin. Saishin in particular is important: in 1023 when Fujiwara

no Michinaga undertook a pilgrimage to Koyasan, a moment that marked as the proper beginnings of Kōyasan's revival after its disastrous fire in 994, Saishin accompanied him and had used the opportunity to suggest to Michinaga that he view Daishi-byō (the mausoleum where Kōbō Daishi was in repose). Since Saishin was Michinaga's brother-in-law, he was in a position to expand Ninnaji's power. Other tendrils of power extended from the duo: Saishin's *deshi*, Seishin, was the fourth son of the ruler Sanjō 三条 Tenno. Through the practice of the *Kujaku kyōhō* (孔雀経法 Peacock Sutra ritual), which was linked intimately to imperial wellbeing, and that of the realm) which Ninnaji was a centre for, he had attracted the faith and patronage of aristocrats. He also, crucially, set up the Kanjō-dō (Initiation Hall) at Kōyasan. The visit of Michinaga to Kōyasan and specifically to Okuno'in, then, was a joining of the high aristocracy with the growing cult of Daishi and Miroku as interlinked beings. It also shows the intertwining of Ninnaji figures with the Amano shrine.

This imperial temple's relationship with Amanosha, the *chinjusha* of Kōyasan, became close. The strengthening of Ninnaji's control over Amanosha was, again, especially because of Kakuhō. When Kakuhō visited Kōyasan he would go downstream on the Kino river from Midani 三谷, and from there to Kōyasan through Amano, lodging at the shrine. Another Ninnaji link was in Gyōshō Shōnin. He had been at Ninnaji since he was a young boy but settled at Kōyasan and in 1207, he invoked Kehi and Itsukushima Myojin were invoked to Amanosha, and with the backing of the Kamakura *bakufu*, Gyōshō had set up the Issaikyō-e ceremony at Amano and had assumed control of the right to appoint Amanosha's Sōkannushi (shrine priests); indeed, he overhauled Amanosha while living on

Koyasan as Amano Injū. Via his *deshi* Jōkyō, Hōjō Masako became a major patron and also visited Kōyasan. Gyōshō was backed by Ninnaji - and it was through him that Ninnaji gained control of Amano. Even before Kakuhō there was a link between Ninnaji and Amanosha but the connection was present through land ownership. In 994 after the fire at Kōyasan, Higashi Sanjo'in (Fujiwara Senshi 961-1001), sister of Michinaga,[145] supported the rebuilding of various structures at Amano including the the Amano jingūin 神宮院, the Sannōdō 山王堂, and the Mandara'in 曼荼羅院. She also had built six residence halls for monks. And for the use of the monks she donated to Amano six estates – Amano 天野, Hanasaka 花坂, Ishiga 志賀, Shimura 四村, Kyōraji 教良寺, and Yamazaki 山崎.

The growing prosperity of Koyasan and Amanosha throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a result of aristocratic interest, which was centered especially on Kōbō Daishi and Miroku. It is the rich context in which developments of scholarship and of kami worship can be understood, for these two joined together to attract further patronage and prestige, especially in competition with an increasingly powerful scholarly faction at Daidenbō'in. And Daishi Myōjin—the ultimate amalgamation of Kōbō Daishi and the kami—emerged here and became a great patriarchal and scholarly object of worship and awe. Henmyō'in, where this kami made its first appearance, leaves little trace today, remaining as a reference almost exclusively in relation to the oracular possession that occurred in its "west room". As a material structure, somewhere an old, burnt, piece of wood from a special altar constructed for the possessing god, referred to in the *Kii zoku*

[145] Also, empress of En'yū 円融.

Fudoki 紀伊続風土記,[146] may still survive, waiting for the kami to return to it. It is here that we can turn to other kinds of homesick spirits. In 1247, a number of the "great" scholar-monks discussed here (Dōhan, Hosshō, and Genkai), of the Chūin-ryū, were expelled from Kōyasan, and with them, their teachings. The oracle, itself apparently transcribed by Dōhan himself, commented in detail on these figures and the fates that had befallen them; members of their cohort (Shōso and Shinben) sought to orchestrate their quick return. Others (Shinnichi and Shinken) seem to have been involved in creating paintings related to the oracle. Kakuwa and Shōso composed liturgical texts for the kami (the latter of which was re-composed by Yūkai) to be used in their scholarly rites. The section of the oracle that deals with the expulsion of the scholar group is its opening, and it introduces us to the urgent concerns around loss of teachings, fear of a potential new decline, and the fervent faith extended to the patriarchs of the religious community.

[146] *Kii zoku fūdoki: Kōyasan no bu* 紀伊続風土記:高野山之部 (hereafter "Fudoki"), in *ZSSZ* 36–40, (Tokyo: Zoku Shingon Shū Zensho Kankōkai 1979–83). A gazette of Kii Province completed in 1839.

CHAPTER 3

"Homesick Spirits": Exile, Soul-summoning, and the Retention of Embodied Teachings in *Takusenki*

Sho [Hosshō] and Han [Dōhan] are exiled. This is the act of the Daimyōjin. [These] eminent monks of this temple, these people of Mahayana are lost. It is in order that the Dharma store of secrets may widely spread. Peace will permeate everything. You people should not grieve. The teachings will disappear in various places. [And these monks] will somehow be brought again to our mountain."

(Oracle received after prayer made to the deities following the exile of monks in 1243[147])

Because we forgive you—although this evil deserves a death sentence—shouldn't you kill yourselves?

(*Henmyō'in Daishi Myōjin Go-Takusenki*[148])

Kangen 3 [1245] Day 21

Nyūji 入寺 Ryūben Ritsujūbo 隆辨律樹房 is following Han-shi [Dōhan] and is doing virtuous practice.[149] *At his place of exile, he has completely transmitted*

[147] Appears in *Kongōchō mujō shōjū dentō kōroku* 金剛頂無上正宗傳燈廣録 compiled by Yūhō 祐寶, (Wakayama: Kōyasan Hachiyō Gakkai, Kōyasan, 1913-1915), which was made years after the event itself.

[148] *Takusenki*, 1:12.

(shabyō 瀉瓶) the Ryōbu Daihō (両部大法) and the sonbō (尊法), etc. This is likely the severance of the true lineage of the mountain's [Kōyasan's] Chūin [branch].[150]

1. *The section "On the Disturbance Between the Two Temples" in* Takusenki
2. *From Arson to Aizen (or 『焚戦記』 to 『託宣記』): The* Takusenki *account of the 1242-43 incident*
3. *Disembodied teachings: On authorship, date, and function*

Introduction

Knowledge is embodied until it is externalized through representation; through a medium (in all senses of the word), and so it can be lost when bodies themselves are lost. I discuss in this chapter the issue of sectarian conflict through a specific incident of inter-temple dispute at Kōyasan and the way it was presented in *Takusenki*, and link it to concerns about loss of specific Shingon teachings. This incident is the 1242 torching of Daidenbō'in by monks of Kongōbuji, and the subsequent exile of a number of monks from the latter faction. It occurred just nine years previous to the (probable) year of the production of *Takusenki*, which this chapter introduces. It concerns Dōhan (to whom the text is attributed) and his close circle of Chūin-ryū scholarly monks, as well as kami worship, especially the worship of the mysterious "Daishi Myōjin." This milieu of incident, texts, figures, and

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[149] *tokkō* 徳行

[150] Kaiei 懐英, *Kōya Shunjū hennen shūroku 高野春秋編年輯録*, (1719), ed. Hinonishi Shinjō 日野西眞定 (Kōyasan: Meicho shuppan 名著出版, 1982), 155.

gods, was decisive in the branch's establishment of its authority over (and self-legitimacy within) the Kōyasan community and the wider Shingon institutional world. A textual analysis of *Takusenki* helps to explicate monk-kami "interaction culture" of the period, highlighting the mechanisms made possible by this culture of both the implementation of status (which will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 6's discussion of debate discourse and procedure) and of the institutional punishment of those who were deemed detractors from the authorial teachings and system.

Examinations of these subjects, through the analysis of the presentation of the conflict will lead into another issue, that pertaining to institutional control, lineage, and leadership that the text as a whole presents: oracular possession as a form of doctrinal transmission. This examination, I propose, shows that the presentation of the conflict was not merely a cynical "sacralization" of an episode of human aggression based only on rivalry and power-grabbing. Viewed in the context of the contemporary notions of the importance of maintaining the intact nature of teachings; the related culture of compiling oral transmissions into sacred works (*shōgyō*); and drawing into the foreground the critical role played by scholarship (specifically, institutionalized discussions of doctrine) in the construction of temple prestige, quite different concerns are found to be at play. And moreover, the display by the scholar monks of knowledge of Chinese poetry that twinned the subjects of exile and soul-summoning practices helps to show why *Takusenki* paired these subjects too, resolving an apparent disjunction between sections of the text. Here again, an intense concern with losing untextualized teachings is inidicated, but this time because the possible deaths of exiled monks in regions far from Kōyasan was thought of as similar to the loss of a soul, and the teachings are explicitly described as such. In this

incident, and in the text, two types of body—the body of a scholarly master that has been cast out in exile, and the body that holds knowledge in the form of a possessing and erudite spirit—are conceptualized as akin since they both held Buddhist teachings normally passed orally from master to student in a lineage.

Before focusing on this, the general significance of the narrative treatment of the inter-temple conflict in *Takusenki* should be summarized, mainly because this treatment is a case that muddles genre in a way that can be helpful for a broader reconsideration of sources in the field of Buddhist studies. For example, firstly, the text has up until now been largely overlooked as an historical source but is an important one that likely was initially produced to respond to community tensions resulting from the conflict, and to consolidate loyalty to Kongōbuji. It thus constitutes an important addition to knowledge of this incident in Kōyasan's history, and it can be seen as a Buddhist text—indeed, it is a *shōgyō* (sacred work)—that also functions as historical record. This raises useful questions about genre.

Secondly, through exegeses of Kōyasan-specific Shingon culture, including Buddhist/kami icons and rituals, as well as rhetoric, the Chūinryū reinforced their leadership, and the text is a good example of this type of reinforcement. It employs textual strategies such as those of analogy, and which draw on ritual, including visualization techniques, to present human violence as both a sacred act and one that is authorized by a sacred superior (a not-uncommon form of justification cross-culturally and historically). This I explore through analysis of the text and through the art and ritual of the culture in which it was steeped (or rather, from which it was inextricable). It shows that the presentation of the conflict was not merely sacred justification for a degenerate political act, and also that an anachronistic interpretation based on "influence" of (and deliberate use of)

the "sacred" onto the "secular" is not appropriate. Rather, the analogies in the text can be understood as an *enactment of transformation* which was characteristic of Kōyasan's Shingon of the time, suggesting that the "replacement" of one object or image for another as a means by which to produce a result *is itself* ritual - and is itself the core mechanism as well as the purpose of representation (indeed, this is an example of the externalization of knowledge from the body mentioned above). To put it quite simply, metaphor, or language itself, is (here) a ritual mechanism.[151] It is because we "live by metaphors," to paraphrase Lakoff, that ritual is not meaningless. Representation (metaphor, object, picture) stands between actor and acted upon, because a channel is required. On ritual, I depart with the explanations of both Wittgenstein who described its purpose as a way for a person (actor) to simply "feel satisfied" and as having no affect on the acted-upon, and also with Robert Sharf, who has critiqued Shingon ritual itself,[152] and I align more closely with Bernard Faure's understanding which emphasizes the powerful role of the intermediary.[153] Seeing it this way means an interpretation of the presentation of the conflict is not a reductive one. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the writer in his section on the conflict inventively utilizes and takes full advantage of the already rich rhetorical trove of contemporary Buddhist (as well as Kōyasan-centric) representations and tropes: pilgrimage as *kechi-en* (divine connection); exile as *hōben* (expedient means); *mappō* (extinction of the Dharma)

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[151] See, for example, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) and James Geary, *I Is An Other: The Secret Life of Metaphor and How It Shapes the Way We See the World*, (London: Harper Perennial, 2012).

[152] Robert H. Sharf, "Thinking Through Shingon Ritual," in *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26. 1 (2003), 51-96.

[153] See Bernard Faure, "Buddhism's Black Holes: From Ontology to Hauntology," *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture* 27.2 (2017), 93-96.

ideology; *chingo kokka* (pacification of the realm); *shinkoku shisō* (discourse on the land of the kami); *kedō risho* (化度利生 the salvation and guidance, and dispensation of wisdom for the benefit of sentient beings); *yōgō* (auto-manifestation of kami to humans); and loss of teaching as cause (and not only a symptom) of social ills. Exploration of this vocabulary sheds further light on Kōyasan, and on the Buddhist discourse of the period.

Thirdly, it is also evident that the way in which the events are portrayed reveals a pointed and urgent concern with the subjects of a) lineage legitimacy and b) transmission of teachings deemed authentic and original (i.e. as originating in Kōbō Daishi). These two concerns are explicit in the opening section of text and are found implicitly in the rest of the record, and there is a palpable fear of loss, severance of a (or "the") line, and of decline (of community and of knowledge). These fears are also expressed in some other commentaries on the exiles, and also in commentaries on *Takusenki*. We are, then, dealing here with a discourse of flourishing and legitimacy/authenticity and decline/corruption (the dual couplets two sides of the same coin).

The *Takusenki* in its entirety, itself, forms a central role in this study: it is connected to the scholar monks at the center of burgeoning scholarship and debate (themselves central to institutional power and prestige). And although in this first section, which is notably distinct from the rest of the text in the sense that it is an explanation of an historical event (that is also explained in several other sources, particularly chronicles), adamant cleavage to Kōbō Daishi's "original teachings"[154]—central, of course, to scholarship—is prominent. These original teachings of Kōbō Daishi formed the basis of the first most systematized

[154] These did not just include the works of Kūkai but also many teachings formulated by others later.

debate (the *hōsoku* was by scholar monk Choyo, who had been one of two monks dispatched to Kōfukuji to learn debate procedure). The debate topics themselves were deemed "transmitted" by and "received" from Kōbō Daishi himself, from his mausoleum (that was considered his ongoing site of meditation). Good scholarship at temple complexes was considered essential to power and was a means of obtaining patronage and funding. Debates were at once performances as well as functional examinations of monastic learning (though the distinction between performance and examination is a fine one). They also qualified a priest to hold certain posts within a clerical institution. At Kōyasan, they additionally uniquely qualified him as—eventually—a "stand-in" for Kōbō Daishi, presumably in part for having mastered the subjects originally explicated by the founder. But in order to master these, as I explore in Chapter 6, participating monks did not only "study". They also elicited help from the *kami* (who were, incidentally, indispensable as well to the community's right to the territory monks claimed was given by the *kami* to Kōbō Daishi; their authority was multivalent). And the profound concern with Miroku that preoccupied the Chūin-ryū was much to do with notions of an "ideal teaching situation": Miroku's heaven was a place where monks could be in the presence of his teachings, and on his "future descent" they could be part of the famous and longed-for "dragon-flower tree assembly." They understood Kōbō Daishi as being somehow present in this heaven too.

The opening section, then, through its treatment of a violent incident, explicitly and implicitly displays all these concerns and so provides a historical/epistemological context for the development of education as essential to legitimacy as an institution. It also helps us to understand the roles of Kōbō Daishi and the *kami*, including the apotheosized founder Daishi Myōjin, within this education and finally in the systematized debates that showcased

it. By this time, indeed, by the end of the eleventh century, the "cult" of Kōbō Daishi had already become part of orthodoxy and orthopraxy,[155] and this posed no contradictions to notions of "authenticity." It finally, in a more general sense, introduces *Takusenki*, and some of the key figures involved with its production and featured within it. The text brought these figures together with those of Kōbō Daishi, Daishi Myōjin, and the kami, in a lineage formation expressed, indeed, through the oracular channeling that produced the text itself.

1. The Section "On the Disturbance Between the Two Temples" in *Takusenki*

A summary of the *Takusenki*'s textual history is provided in the Appendix. I will introduce here the circumstances in which the text came into being and its content, but these introductions will be necessarily brief since I will return to aspects of the text and its context in more depth throughout this dissertation, to situate and give meaning to certain issues. The *takusen* itself occurred in the eleventh month of 1251 (Kenchō 建長 3), two years after Dōhan had returned from exile in Sanuki province (present-day Kagawa prefecture). It was transmitted through a spontaneously possessed *chigo* (acolyte) resident at Henmyōin cloister and recorded in writing by a hastily assembled group of "elders" (all scholar monks of the Chūinryū). Its source was a god named Daishi Myōjin.

The account of the arson and exiles in *Takusenki* occupies the first 1-13 articles. This is followed by various other oracular pronouncements, which comprise the greater part

[155] Londo, *The Other Mountain*, 196.

of the text. In this chapter I focus only on the opening section—*On the Disturbance Between the Two Temples*—, but the list of contents found in the Appendix serves to indicate its position (first, prominent, and introductory) and the seeming discrepancy in type between this section and the others. In fact, as stated above, it can be shown that there was a natural narrative link between exile and "shamanistic" practices (including oracular possession).

Let us now turn to the historical context of the section and the incident with which it deals, and consider the (previously proposed) first way in which *Takusenki* is of significance as a Buddhist text: as a largely ignored source of information about this historical incident. I will suggest why it has been overlooked. By providing the historical background I hope to foreground the idea that the prestige of scholarship that Daidenbō'in possessed was one major reason for the threat it posed to Kongōbuji. Daidenbō'in was an institution principally for the revival and carrying out of lecture assemblies. Precious land resources were awarded to Daidenbō'in by illustrious patrons specifically for the financing of these assemblies. Kongōbuji monks were not only perturbed by this; they were also dissatisfied at restrictions laid on them regarding attendance at the assemblies. As the below account will show, the lecture assembly then (literally, "assembly of the transmission of the teachings"), was associated with status and drew immense power and funding.

Likely third closest in date of all extant sources to the 1242 incident and subsequent exile (the closest being Dōhan's *Nankai rurōki* diary account[156] followed by that in

[156] Dōhan, *Nankai rurōki* 南海流浪記 in *Guncho ruijū*, ed. Haniwa Hokinoichi, vol. 18 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho ruijū kanseikai 1959-60), 468-476.

Takusenki) is the *Hyakurenshō* which gives an account.[157] According to this, and a number of other accounts that I will discuss in more detail below, monks at Okuno'in, who were affiliated with Kongōbuji, set fire to Daidenbō'in and its monastic residences. The flames spread with the wind. On the first day of the following new year, Okuno'in affiliates attacked once more, entering the Great Pagoda in the Central Complex and erasing the names of twenty Daidenbō'in monks from the register of *gusō* monks which were written in a register stored inside it. This was, according to Kōyasan's internal laws, an illegal act. *Gusō* were *ajari* first instated at Kōyasan by abdicated Emperor Shirakawa in 1088 in order to perform the transmission-initiation (*Denbō kanjō* 伝法灌頂).[158] In other words, the erasure of their names essentially meant they could not perform this most fundamental legitimizing rite. At this juncture, a court emissary was dispatched to Kōyasan, but the arson attack occurred not long afterward, in the seventh month of the same year. The Kongōbuji monks virulently attacked, setting fire to the Daidenbō'in buildings and monks' living quarters. Mediation and lawsuits continued for several years after this. In response to the 1242 arson attack, Tōji's *ichi-no-choja* (nominal *zasu* of Koyasan) requested that *kengyō* Myōken hand over the parties involved for investigation. Tōji's abbot then referred the names of those involved to the Rokuhara (the Kamakura shogunate's Kyoto-based officers of judicial matters) in the seventh month of 1243, and around ten Daidenbōin monks and twenty-six Kongōbuji monks were dispatched to the capital to face trial

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[157] *Hyakurenshō* 百錬抄 vol. 15, entry for Ninji 3 (1242), 23rd day of 7th month. *Shintei zōho kokushi taike*i 新訂増補国史大系 vol. 11, Kokawa kōbunkan 古河弘文館, 1965: 194. The *Hyakurensho* is a 17-volume collection of diary accounts and historical records, of the Kamakura period, covering the mid-Heian to the mid-Kamakura periods. Of unknown authorship. Thought to have been completed by the end of the 13th century.

[158] See Matsunaga *Kōyasan sono rekishi to bunka*, 199.

(*taimon*). However, Myōken, and two scholar monks (*gakuryo*) of high status, Dōhan and Hosshō, were exiled in 1243 (Ninji 4/Kangen 1).[159] Negotiations continuing from 1242 to 1248 had a disruptive effect on Tōji's appointments and its ceremonies as well. In 1248 Ninnaji and the *bakufu* government appealed to Kōyasan to resume the ceremonies it had suspended. But even between the times of the exiles and of Dohan's return, and his death in 1252, Kōyasan was in turbulence over appointments to headship, namely that of Gyōhen 行遍.

At the time of the incident, Dōhan was a highly ranked monk: he was the *Inju* of Shōchi'in and in 1237 had become the 42nd *shugyodai* in service to *kengyō* ('superintendent') Ryōnin 良任. Dōhan subsequently served the same role when Ryōnin was re-appointed as 44th *kengyo*, and did so once again under the 45th *kengyō*, Myōken. Myōken withdrew from the role, and was exiled with other monks. Arbitration ensued, continuing until 1248, but the *bakufu* and court could not control the entire process, given that Kōyasan had become a powerful governor itself.[160] In the fifth month of 1249, Dōhan was permitted to return from his seven-year exile. Hosshō had died in Izumo province just a few years earlier. Daidenbō'in monks were also permitted to return - and rebuild - in around 1248. However, in 1286, violence ensued once more and a Daidenbō'in bathhouse, deemed inappropriately large (i.e. luxurious) by the Kongōbuji authorities, was destroyed. Two years later the then head of Daidenbō'in, Raiyū, relocated with his monks to Negoro,

[159] *Shunjū*, 154.

[160] See Mikael Adolphson and J. Mark Ramseyer, "Property Rights in Medieval Japan: The Role of Buddhist Temples and Monasteries," *Harvard Law and Economics Discussion Paper 584* (2007). Available at http:// https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.985366

never to return. Although after returning to Kōyasan Dōhan's health was to deteriorate with the development of a tumor, he had been active during his time in Sanuki province (present-day Kagawa prefecture), where he conferred initiations and established lecture assemblies at his exile residence, the temple Zentsūji. Two years after his return (if we accept the 1251 date of *Takusenki*), he was purportedly witness to and recorder of the oracular possession that produced a text with an account of the troubles.

Given the volatile and dramatic nature of the conflicts between the two factions, and of the arson attack in particular, begs the question as to why has the *Takusenki* account of the incident been overlooked as a historical source by not only academic historians of the modern period but also by Kōyasan monk-chroniclers themselves? The accounts of this conflict most commonly consulted appear in the Edo period sources *Shunjū* and *Fudoki*. There are also mentions in the (previously cited) late Kamakura-period history *Hyakurenshō*, and Shōso's *Kōya kōhai ki* 高野興廃記. Shōso was a scholar-monk contemporary of Dōhan and fellow *deshi* of Kakukai (aka Kakkai; 1142-1223)).[161] As mentioned, Dōhan himself gives a brief account of the 1242 incident in his exile diary, *Nankai Rurōki* 南海流浪記 (1250). However, in addition to the more detailed and longer account found in *Takusenki* (attributed to Dōhan) there is another historically significant but heretofore largely overlooked discussion of the disturbance (that is relatively historically proximate to the events). This is by Kōyasan scholar monk Yūkai and is found

[161] Kakukai became *kengyō* of Kongōbuji in 1217. He had originally been taught by Jōkai at Sanbōin of Daigoji.

in *Ategawa Yakusō Chū Ki* 阿互川薬草中記 (c.1413),[162] along with some mentions in other works by him and records of discussions with him such as *Jitsugoshō* 實語鈔.[163]

The reason for the neglect in scholarship so far of the *Takusenki* as a source for understanding this episode in Kōyasan's history—despite the fact that its date and site of production are so closely related to the incident, and despite the detailed information it offers—is likely not only because the text itself has not been the subject of much scholarly attention and is neither widely known nor understood, but because it occupies an ambiguous position in terms of genre. Additionally, as a *takusen* its authorship is problematic to define. It was long transmitted as a *shōgyō* or "sacred text" within the Chūin branch, and so has not been categorized as a 'historical document'. The most extensive research has been done by Abe Yasurō in his *Chusei koyasan engi no kenkyu* which first introduced the text into academic study and first produced it in print (*katsuji*), and his subsequent *Chusei koyasan engi shū* (1999). However, Abe focuses more fully on the main part of the text, which he describes as "a rearranged compilation of secret oral transmissions (*hiji kuden*) that celebrates Dōhan as a *sendatsu* (先達. This can simply mean "leader" of a group though it often specifies a leader of a Shugenja or pilgrim group) and creates a new kami. It also aims, "in the form of what we can call a new Koyasan *engi*, to resolve the psychological dangers caused at this historical moment."[164] He classes it together with texts like *Koyasan hiki*, the previously mentioned collection of orally

[162] I use the text in *Misshū Gakuhō* 密宗学報 25, 1915, pp.111-128. The mentions regarding *Takusenki* are found on page 122.

[163] Date unknown. A copy of 1794 is kept at Kōyasan's Jimyōin 持明院.

[164] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 58.

transmitted Kōyasan teachings produced by the same circle of figures as those who made *Takusenki*. Abe's attention to the Daidenbō'in-Kongōbuji conflict section is minimal, which is a consequence of his categorization of the text. Hinonishi Shinjō mentions the text in *Sangaku Reijō ni matsurareru kami to hotoke: toku ni Kōyasan no baai*[165] but he focuses on the worship of the kami as exhibited in *Takusenki* rather than the account of the conflict. Ōyama Kōjun defines the text as "a variety of mysterious teachings about Kōyasan," [166] and, like Hinonishi, he does not examine the conflict in particular; the section seems to be understood as of the same character as the rest: "secret teachings." All this this illuminates the problem of the relationship between the opening section, that deals with the dispute, and the following sections whose content have, for the most part, no obvious relation to the dispute at all. The opening section is ignored as an anomaly because the scholars imposed the category of *shōgyō* or "collection of secret teachings" onto the whole. To explain why the text does form an integrated and natural whole (even while the identity of the "author" (transcriber and editor) and the process of production remain elusive), we need to look to the text itself and commentaries on it. One of these commentaries is that of Yūkai.

Regarding the conflict, *Takusenki* is cited by no one until Yūkai, and he comments in detail on its dating, authorship, production, and function. Because Yūkai was preoccupied with organizing lineage, it is unsurprising that he takes up the text and its contents. He cites the account given specifically in *Takusenki* as one example of what he saw as Kōyasan's decline. There is also a particular connection between Dōhan and Yūkai which may account for his interest: they are well-known as key figures in Kōyasan's

[165] In *Sei naru mono no katachi to ba*, Hozokan, 2004: 470-89.

[166] Ōyama, *Shinbutsu Kōshō shi*, 320.

Shingon history for their contributions to the development of doctrine, and were both high-ranking scholar monks in the Chūin lineage. While Dōhan was active in a period when sub-sects and secret teachings were proliferating, and which was witness to the spread of what were later to be classified as heretical teachings as well as to beginnings of intensive temple land expansion projects, Yūkai, on the other hand, was responsible for the extensive organizational project known as *Ōei no Taisei* 応永の大成 whereby he attempted to purge Shingon of false transmissions he identified within it. He is most well known today for his virulent criticism of the monk Monkan (文観 1278-1357). Both Dōhan and Yūkai produced vast oeuvres and leave behind doctrinal commentaries, diaries, revised ritual manuals (次第 *shidai*), secret teachings, and letters. Linked by lineage and by prestige as scholars, it is not surprising that Yūkai was keenly interested in Dōhan's works, and in *Takusenki*, which was, he contended, mainly concerned with lineage and its legitimacy. I will consider Yūkai's understanding of the text below. It likely accounts for his interest in the section on the arson and exile where that of previous monks and chroniclers is absent, but this is precisely *because* he considers it not a "historical document" regarding a dispute but as a *shōgyō* (as, indeed, it was intended) and as material concerning correct transmission of teachings as well as lineage members. However, it should be noted that while the account found in *Takusenki* is an esoteric exegetical account characteristic of Kōyasan's scholarly texts of the time, Yūkai's remarks are skeptical and historicizing. But both are both invested in the primacy of the orthodox Chūin branch.

I will return to Yūkai's comments, and the issues of authorship, date, and function, in Chapter 3. But in addition to Yūkai's interpretation of the text—an interpretation he

focuses mainly on specific figures—as primarily evidence of lineage legitimacy, one can see the account of the conflict as a very part of this legitimization, and that this is not only explicit but is also suggested through the use of (an often Kōyasan-specific) Buddhist rhetoric.

2. From Arson to Aizen (or from 『焚戦記』to『託宣記』): The *Takusenki* account of the 1242-43 incident

The principal function of the opening section of *Takusenki* ("Disorder Between the Two Temples" (*Ryōji sōdō*, 1:1-13) is to justify the 1242 attack by *honji* ("Main Temple") monks—as Kongōbuji dubbed themselves—on Daidenbō'in. It offers careful explanations of why certain events transpired, and why specific measures were taken by the various parties involved. To everything is attributed a reason, and all is elevated to a sacred level and given purpose. Nothing is accepted as random, accidental, as driven by the motivations of human desire or enmity. Essentially, the 1242 incident and the punishment of the exiles are lifted from the realm of the mundane and re-situated in that of the sacred.

It may be surmised then, that this section is a response to tensions and doubts concerning the justice of Kongōbuji actions towards the Daidenbō'in monks as well as the fates met by some of those connected to Kongōbuji; the death of some and exiles of other Kongōbuji monks are matters accorded particular attention. To put it simply, the first half of the section justifies the actions taken towards the Daidenbō'in monks and second half justifies the deaths and exiles of the Kongōbuji monks. It is, as a whole, an attempt to alleviate tension and to reassure its audience that all matters were pre-ordained and were

ultimately expedient means. The list of instructions, and then the lengthy takusen that follows it in the next sections, must have contributed to the restoration of confidence, honor and unity among the Kongōbuji monks at Kōyasan who, as *Takusenki* tells us, had been witnesses to a manifestation of the mountain deities' forms, and thereby presented themselves as uniquely blessed figures whose actions were legitimized by the highest authority. This part of the text, then, reveals to us the means employed by Kongōbuji monks to justify their actions. On the other hand, it also indicates that the monks at Kōyasan were by no means unified at this point and that there were oppositions and doubts concerning these actions. Such a climate likely necessitated the production of this section.

In the opening section of *Takusen-ki*, justification for the arson attack on Daidenbōin is meticulously and persuasively made through a number of strategies which include *mitate* (or, posing one act or object as another) and the use of words with positive valence to replace those of negative import. An arson fire is presented as a *goma* ritual fire for Aizen Myōō, and the flames are those produced by the concentrated meditational state of *samadhi*. An exile here a sojourn, a reparation to the birthplace of the patriarch of the exile's own sect, and an opportunity to help revive an ailing temple. Other exiles are cast as preachers' tours. The stationing of warriors at Kōyasan (probably by the *bakufu* government) is to the benefit of the warriors themselves: mere presence at Kōyasan had long been held by monastic proponents to create a divine connection (*kechien*) with it. In such ways, the *mitate* strategy (better known in its pictorial, often playful employments) is richly exploited here. Finally, several details help us to square this opening section, and the oracle as a whole, in the climate of the time: one of violence, which I discussed above, and possibly *mappō*-related anxieties which are hinted at by the phrase "calamities across our

land," and the use of *shinkoku* discourse ("all the kami") which was employed to deal with "subversive elements" as Rambelli writes, in the *kenmon taisei* system. The opening section is replete with references to *chōbuku*, subjugation of the enemy through the practice of certain esoteric rituals, even if the ritual type itself is not named outright, particularly those types related to Aizen Myōō (famously, in Eison's *chobuku* subjugation rite against the Mongol invasions some thirty years later) and Fudō Myōō (employed at Kōyasan especially to defeat the same troops). We may also pay special attention to the mention of *yōgō*, since it is described here as having accompanied the kami's divine forgiveness of the exiled monks' acts of violence, and is a phenomenon that appears in other places throughout the record. Many of these aspects are further clarified through reference to the rest of the text, and I draw on it throughout for this purpose.

The record opens with an explanation of the text to follow: "On the 12th day of the 11th month of Kenchō 3, *kanotoi*,[167] a strange thing happened to the long-haired [*chigo*] Jishu Ō[168] of Henmyō-in [cloister], and from the 13th day of the same [month], identifying himself the medium of the former great past master [of the same cloister] [and channeling a *kami*] named Daishi Daimyōjin, delivered an oracle." I will focus more fully on this opening article in Chapter 3 but here it should be noted that the possessed person is a *chigo* (acolyte), as indicated by the term *suihatsu* which indicates the long hair of a child (not worn up until their coming-of-age) and by way of association, an un-ordained (and thus not

[167] Year name in accordance with the *kanshi* system, or sexagenary cycle, formulated in China.

[168] At the end of some copies of the record it is noted that "the child of the oracle was a resident of Furu City in Kokawa. On becoming a monk, he had the name Chōshin-bō (長信房). After that, during the times of violence he was a key figure and so he was made to leave the mountain." This note is dated Genkō 3 (1323).

tonsured) *chigo* resident in a temple. Specifically, it was a type of bobbed haircut, as worn in the depictions (which became very popular during the Muromachi period) of Kōbō Daishi as a child, known as "Chigo Daishi." Shōchi'in (Dōhan's residential temple) also owns one of these depictions,[169] the significance of which I discuss in Chapter 3. Chigo did not always enter a temple with the aspiration to monkhood; they sometimes resided there for the purposes of education only. The connection to education is important, as mentioned previously: chigo at large temples often performed debates, and often as a variety of entertainment and show of institutional prestige for important pilgrims. At Kōyasan, an official, regular ceremonial *mondō* debate between chigo was to be launched just forty years later. Chigo were also thought susceptible to possession.

Similarly elaborated on in Chapter 5, the possessing entity, "Daishi Daimyōjin" is, as elucidated later in the text, an amalgamation of Shingon patriarchs Keika and Kōbō Daishi with the two mountain kami Niu Myojin and Kōya Myojin. The tripartite scheme comprised of kami, *sentoku* ("former great master" and *on-tsukai* (messenger/medium i.e the *chigo*) is similar to that still used today at Kiso Ontake, where a medium is possessed by a powerful former *sendatsu* leader of a group of Shugendo mountain ascetics) who conveys the oracle of the mountain god. This "ancestor-first/spirit-second model" is quite common in Shugendō practice and Koyasan's strong Shugendō character as a mountain based religious institution at this time lends credence to the suggestion of similarities with this possession model, a model I discuss in Chapter 3. Likewise, *kuchiyose* oracles delivered via *itako*-type mediums (among others) involve a "double invocation," so to speak, since identification with the medium's guardian spirit is achieved in order to then

[169] *Kōyasan Shochi'in no rekishi to bijutsu* (Wakayama: Kōyasan Reihōkan), 45 (fig. 24).

invoke the spirit of a living or dead person to possess the medium. Similarly, in performing *yori-kito* "prayers of possession," a Shugenja identifies himself with Fudō Myōō for the purpose of invoking (usually) tutelary gods into their possessing bodies in order to deliver oracles.[170] In utilizing an intermediary to channel other gods or spirits, these all bear similarities to the three-part *chigo-sentoku*-kami structure here.

As can be seen in the two opening articles, the account is clearly made from the Kongōbuji point of view. Firstly: "There were always disputes. We decided a punishment ourselves for the evil hearts of the Denbō'in monks."[171] Following this directly: "This time, Denbō'in went up in flames. This was the punishment. The *shuto*[172] of Kongōbuji settled through council that this was the will of the deities. It was said at that meeting that the bows

[170] Miyake, Hitoshi. "Religious Rituals in Shugendō: A Summary." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16.2-3 (1989): 110.

[171] *Takusenki*, 1:1.

[172] *Shuto* 衆徒 is a term variously defined but it can be understood as "scholar monks." The precise differences in role and status between monk groups remain problematic to define (as does that of those in the *hijiri* category).

and arrows of [Aizen] Myōō would be borrowed.[173] It was said that a punishment should be dealt to the bad monks of Denbō'in."[174]

Kongōbuji refers to itself as the *honji* or 'main temple' (and refers to Daidenbō'in, later, as the subordinate 'branch,' (the "branch temple" (*matsuji*) or simply "in" ("the cloister"), or as Denbō'in, omitting 'Dai' which means 'great'). The hearts/minds of the latter are described as evil. The decision to proceed with punishment of the Daidenbō'in monks was taken during a meeting, and based on the fact that it was the "will of the deities." Sacred meetings in the name of the *kami*, or to consult with the *kami*, were held to decide the procedures for dealing with people who had violated rules. There are numerous references to such *shuto sengi* meetings in the Kofukuji-Kasuga Taisha's *Daijōin jisha zatsuji ki* record.[175] These councils were generally held to deal with those who had not paid

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[173] The arrows of Aizen Myoo were symbolically and practically significant during the later invasion threats by armies of the Chinese Yuan Dynasty. The arrow was the most effective symbol in the Chōbuku-hō (ceremonies to avert evil or to defeat adversaries). See Roger Goepper, *Aizen Myōō: The King of Lust, An Iconological Study*, Museum Rietburg, Zurich: Artibus Asiae, 1993. Also, in 1281, Eison performed a rite that was requested by the imperial court. He records it in the *Kongōbusshi Eison Kanshin-gakushō-ki* 金剛仏子叡尊感身学正記, his personal notes (In Hosokawa Ryōichi 細川涼一 ed., *Kanshin gakushō-ki:Saidaiji Eison no jiden* 感身学正記〜西大寺叡尊の自伝 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999). According to other texts, he goes to Hachiman-gu in Otokoyama and performs the subduing ritual to Aizen (see Marinus Willem de Visser, Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries and Their History in Later Times. (Leiden: Brill, 1935), 516-7). Later legends added accounts about the arrow from his personal Aizen, which they recount was shot in the direction of the Mongol ships, causing a typhoon.

[174] *Takusenki*, 1:2.

[175] "Daijōin jisha zōji ki 大乗院寺社雑事記," by Jisson (尋尊, 1430-1508). In Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三 ed., *Zoku shiryō taisei* 続史料大成 37, (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1978). Written between 1456 and 1508, this text recorded the administration of Kōfukuji as well as some details on political events of the time such as the Ōnin war. These meetings and the punishments decided upon during them are discussed by Sakai Kimi 酒井紀美 in Na wo komeru 名を籠める in *Kotoba no bunkashi: Chusei 2*, ed. Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1989): 181-209 and Ueda Nobuhiro 植田信広 ""Myoji wo komeru" to iu keibatsu ni tsuite: "Daijōin jisha zōji ki"

taxes, but the offenders were referred to by the terms "temple enemy," (*jiteki*) "enemy of the kami," (*shinteki*) and "enemy of the buddha/s" (*butsuteki*). Such "enemies" were not monks but estate land stewards (*ryōshū*) and estate residents. The same punishments were inflicted by Kōyasan on those it deemed as having committed estate-related offenses in the *Shiki no inori* (lit. "Seasonal Prayers"; also called the *Shiki no kitō*) rite[176] which took place in the *Sannō-in* (Mountain King Hall, where the debates also took place). This hall faced the *kami* shrines and was essentially a *haiden*, a place in which worship dedicated to the kami took place. During the *Shiki no inori*, Daishi Myōjin was invoked.[177] In both the case of Kōfukuji and of Kōyasan (since the *Shiki no inori* rites were held in front of the *kami*) the punishments are portrayed as divine ones incurred by the *kami*, and the punishment incurred on Daidenbōin is similarly sacralized, as the third article shows: "The fire was an Aizen-Ō *goma* [fire ritual]. And it was not a human act. The original vows [*honzei*] had been violated, so the hearth was pulled out [i.e. unlidded?]. Thus, the *shuto* of this temple [Kongōbuji] only added altar wood to the Aizen-Ō *goma*. However, to put this in my name[178] would be the greatest treason. It should be thought of as the flames of [Aizen

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wo tegakari ni shite 名字をこめるという刑罰について〜大乗院寺社雑事記," *Hōsei kenkyū* 法政研究 53.1 (1986), 51-75. In English see Fabio Rambelli, "Buddha's Wrath: Esoteric Buddhism and the Discourse of Divine Punishment" *Japanese Religions* 27.1 (2002): 49.

[176] Today called *kaki inori*, the meaning of the rite has changed and is linked to preventing summertime epidemics.

[177] MDJ "Shiki no inori" entry, 1970: 508-509. See also Taira Masayuki, *Nihon Chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō* 日本中世の社会と仏教, (Tokyo: Tankōbon 単行本, 1992), 194.

[178] The identity of the subject "*watakushi*" (私) is unclear. It may be Dōhan or the "sentoku" (probably Kyōmitsu). Because in articles 5, 6, and 7 there are second-person references to Daishi Myōjin the subject here is may not be the kami Daishi Myōjin.

Myōō's] *samadhi* [meditative state]."[179] The fire is not a human act of arson but the Aizen-Ō *goma* fire ritual, to which Kongōbuji monks merely added ritual wood. The flames were of Aizen Myōō's *samadhi*. These flames, called *kashō sanmai* are the flames emitted from the body of a Myōō when it is in a state of *sanmaji*, or the deep and peaceful meditative focus attained from parting from deluded thoughts and attachments. This fire also indicates the burning away of demons or demonic obstructions. It will be recognized that the reference is likely to be to the *chōbuku* or *gōbuku* ritual, a variety of Shingon ritual that gained popularity during the Insei period for defeating enemies - and thus quite appropriate here. Aizen Myōō rituals were closely connected with both *chōbuku-hō* (and with the *keiai-hō* (for seduction rather than repulsion), as well as *sokusai-hō* rites for driving off baleful forces). The varieties for eliminating enemies and evil forces are described in the *Kakuzenshō*,[180] though originally this type of ritual was intended for eliminating the force of transgressions in the mind/heart[181] as described by the *Kongōchōkyō giketsu* and explained there as developed as a response to sadness at the increase of evil people after Shakyamuni's nirvana.[182]

The line in article 1:2, "the bows and arrows of [Aizen] Myōō would be borrowed" is a reference to two of Aizen's attributes as delineated in the *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yuga*

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[179] *Takusenki*, 1:3.

[180] Kakuzenshō 覚禅鈔. By Kakuzen 覚禅, DNBZ 47. See also, on these rituals, Hayami Tasuku 速水佑, *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyo* 平安貴族社会と仏教, (Tokyo: Kokawa kōbunkan 古河弘文館, 1975).

[181] See Imai Mikio 今井幹雄 , *Shūhō: kokoro ha shinbutsu no tsuro de aru* 修法～心は神仏の通路である (Tokyo: Tōhō shuppan 東方出版, 2007), 51.

[182] *Kongōchōkyō Daiyūga himitsu shinchi hōmon giketsu* 金剛頂経大瑜伽秘密心地法門義訣, Kongochi (Vajrabodhi), recorded by Amoghavajra, T39:1798.

yugi kyo 金剛峯楼閣一切瑜伽瑜祇経.[183] They function to stand for the transformation of sentient beings' desires as purified and changed into *bodai* (the aspiration to enlightenment). In the esoteric interpretation, the bow and arrow are symbols of desire/lust but they also symbolize the *samadhi* state of Aizen, as noted above.[184] They are also the *sanmaiya* forms of the "angry" Myōō (*funnu Myōō*): divinities who use the weapons to defeat obstructions. Eison (1201-1290) of Saidaiji in Nara famously performed a *goma* ritual with an Aizen made in 1247 and "used" Aizen's arrows against the attempted invasion by Yuan dynasty armies some years later in 1281. The account of this, in *Wakamiya kenmonki* (若宮見聞記)[185] reveals the divine power attributed to the wind in connection with the bows and arrows of Aizen: the bow sound startling the heavens, carrying the arrow to the west and creating a divine wind to repel the invaders. At this time, though four decades after the Daidenbōin incident, there was a three-part connection between Aizen's bow and arrow, divine wind, and the defeat of those threatening the interconnected rule of realm and rule of Buddhism (*ōbō buppo*). In Eison's own 1286 record, *Kongō bushi Eison kanshin gaku shou ki* 金剛仏子叡尊感身学正記 there is a mention (noted above) of the *chōbuku* subjugation rites carried out to defend the realm at this time (though he does not describe his Aizen rite) and of the great wind produced by Hachiman Daibosatsu. With other such notions pertaining to sacred wind for the purpose of

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[183] Translated by Kongōchisanzō. T (*zuzō*) 18:253.

[184] *Asabasho* 阿娑縛抄 in BZ 35-41. A Tendai esoteric compendium of ritual instructions and oral transmissions with illustrations, compiled by either Shōchō 承澄 or Sonchō 尊澄 but compiled by around 1275 at the latest, with some later additions.

[185] Nedachi Kensuke 根立研介, *Nihon no bijutsu* 276*: Aizen Myoo zō* 日本の美術 276〜愛染明王像 (Tokyo: Shibundo 至文堂 1997), 30.

repelling the Yuan enemies found in, for example (on the earlier side), Tōgan Ean's 東巖慧安 (1225-1277) prayer to Iwashimizu Hachiman and references to sacred wind or "kamikaze" in the late Kamakura period *Hachiman gudōkun* 八幡愚童訓[186] and the 1295 *Nomori no kagami* 野守鏡[187]. Mentions are also made in the slightly later 1339 *Jinnō Shōtōki* 神皇正統記[188] and the late fourteenth century *Taiheiki* 太平記.[189] The notion of a sacred wind was certainly not confined to scholar monks and ritual practitioners.[190] The Henmyō'in monk Yūshin, one of the witnesses of the oracular possession, and one of the signatories of *Takusenki,* wrote that the kami of Kōyasan (at Amano) were said to have created the divine wind that repelled the Yuan dynasty troops in 1281. He reported this as a "miraculous event" to the *bakufu*.

A later description of the events by Yūkai mentions the *actual* use of bows and arrows by the Kongōbuji monks against their Daidenbō'in adversaries (see p X below), but the bow, arrow, and wind were a combination of objects, images, and concepts conventionally used in esoteric discourse on violence, divine retribution and the defeat of an adversary. These notions are related to *Takusenki* and its record of the arson attack. In

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[186] Sakurai Tokutarō 桜井徳太郎, "Jisha engi 寺社縁起" in *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想体系 20, Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1975.

[187] Said to be by Tendai monk Minamoto no Arifusa 源有房 (dates unknown); completed in 1295.

[188] By Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房. Iwasa Masashi 岩佐正, (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko 岩波文庫, 1975).

[189] Thought to be by Kojima Hōshi 小島法師, a historical military epic covering the years from 1319-67. Translated by Helen Craig McCullough as *Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan* (New York: Tuttle Publishing, 1979).

[190] Kamikaze, or "divine wind," appears at earliest in the *Manyōshū* 万葉集 and the *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀.

Dōhan's 1250 exile diary, just a year before the *takusen* was apparently delivered, he described the 1242 incident, mentioning first and foremost the fault of the Daidenbō'in monks in not properly recognizing their status as a "branch temple" in relation to Kongōbuji.[191] But although his description varies significantly from that more virulent one (as we shall presently see) in *Takusenki*, he calls the conflagration a "natural fire" that is blown by the wind (天火自然出順風款爾起). The discussion above of "divine wind" in relation to the extinguishing or repulsion of an enemy indicates he may also have been making the suggestion that this was not a wholly human act, though he does not go as far as the *Takusenki* account does in legitimizing it by using the language of the *goma* ritual.

Aizen features throughout *Takusenki* coupled, at times interchangeably, with Fudō. The pairing of Aizen and Fudō itself was not at all uncommon during this period: it seems to have emerged by the thirteenth century even though the two are found nowhere in the canon as a pair. Dolce discusses triads developed in the same period involving the pair with Shinto deities. Triads drew on the "unity of opposites," the "interpenetration of the two mandalic realities" and "aimed at disclosing the possibilities of a bodily and liturgical accomplishment of …overcoming" duality.[192] The Aizen-Fudō pairing plays large throughout *Takusenki*, and its triadic form is found in descriptions of the interchanging of its characteristics and attributes. Glancing further ahead in the record, at 1:81, there appear what seem to be the rules for a new *goma* ritual using Aizen, or perhaps the Two-Headed Aizen (also non-canonical and emergent as a new iconography devised by Shingon monks

[191] GR, vol. 18, 468-76; 468.

[192] Lucia Dolce, "Duality and the Kami: The Ritual Iconography and Visual Constructions of Medieval Shinto," *Cahiers de Extrême Asie* 16 (2006): 122-23.

in the Heian period). To deepen understanding of the description of the Aizen *goma* in the opening section I would like to briefly look at articles 1:75-81, which discuss this pair. These appear in the section entitled "*honji*" in which it is first explained that the *honji* of the *ryōsho* (Niu Myōjin and Kōya Myojin) is Fudō-Aizen (1:75). A dream shown to Kakuson 覺尊 (one of the signatories on the *kishōmon* that closes *Takusenki*) dated in the record to just ten months before the oracle that comprises the record itself is described to support this statement. In the dream, while paying his respects at "the shrine" (御社) Kakuson sees beyond the open door standing statues (or a standing statue) of Fudō-Aizen. He explains that "[a]ccording to this *takusen*, that dream was engraved on the heart. Regarding the content: in visiting the shrine, when a greeting was paid to the treasure hall, to the north of the storehouse, the [shrine] door was open. Inside the shrine building, a lamp is always blazing. Inside, there are standing statues [or, a standing statue] of Fudō-Aizen, facing east. Aizen (faces) north, and Fudō south."[193] The article continues, "[a]nd so, after the dream, there were three doubts [confusions]," which are explained before the chigo channels answers to resolve them: "First, the standing image[s?] of the Myōō in one shrine. Also, this is the first time to see a standing Aizen statue. Another point: Fudō was standing facing south and Aizen was standing facing north. Regarding this, now at the time of this *takusen* an interpretation is given for each of the three matters."[194]

Daishi Myōjin, via the chigo, reveals that the Fudō and Aizen being in one shrine together is a kind of triadic formation that overcomes the duality of the two mandalic worlds (*ryōbu funi* 両部不二) that they are ultimately equated with (respectively, the

[193] *Takusenki*, 1:75.
[194] *Takusenki*, 1:76.

Womb World and the Diamond World): "The two Myōō inside the one shrine express of the non-duality of the two worlds."[195] Next, the reason for the stance of the Aizen statue is given as follows: "The standing image/s of the Myōō express the swiftness [readiness] to change into *suijaku* (form)."[196] In other words, they can transform into *kami*: in this case (see article 1:79), Kōya Myōjin and Niu Myōjin. Though standing images of Fudō were not uncommon, those of Aizen were and are indeed rare. Fudō, retaining his non-kami form though, was reported as walking out of his position: the "Namikiri" Fudō was said to have been relocated to Nan'in by Ihan after he walked out of the Sannōin, and the 1254 *Kokonchomonjū* 古今著聞集 reports that Fudō had displayed his form and walked out of his altar toward the goma-practicing Tendai monk Gyōson 行尊 (1057-1135).[197] However, there are in fact two separate standing images of Aizen that may have once been installed at Amanosha, as well as a Two-Headed Aizen known to have once been there. All are of a later date than the thirteenth century although one can be identified as the Two-Headed Aizen (*Ryōzu Aizen*) as seen specifically (though in seated form) in a Kamakura period painting at Kōyasan.[198] Despite its name, it in fact clearly has one Aizen head and one Fudō head. A pairing of a standing Aizen and Fudō in *Takusenki* may be an earlier or alternative expression of the principle of transcending duality. There is a Yakujin Myōō 厄神明王

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[195] *Takusenki*, 1:77.

[196] *Takusenki*, 1:78.

[197] See *Kokonchomonjū* 古今著聞集, eds. Nagazumi Yasuaki 永積安明 and Shimada Isao 島田勇雄. In NKBT, vol 84 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 1966), 99, and Ive Aaslid Covaci, "The Ishiyamadera engi and the Representation of Dreams and Visions in Pre-modern Japanese Art," (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2007), 76.

[198] See *Kōyasan no Myōō zō* 高野山の明王像 (Wakayama: Kōyasan Reihōkan, 1993), 60.

(Fig. 1) statue, also called a "Two-Headed Aizen" at Kōyasan-affiliated Shingon temple Mondo Yakujin Tōkōji 門戸厄神東光寺 in Hyogo Prefecture. Its amalgamated form, according to the temple lore originated in a healing ritual performed by Kūkai at the request of Emperor Saga. Moreover, this is the only one surviving of three carved by Kūkai; one had apparently been installed at Amanosha.[199] Such attributions to Kūkai of statues are very common, and dubious, but aside from that, it is significant if the location of installation was Amanosha.[200] The same temple owns an Edo period copy (Fig. 2) of the Kamakura period "Two-Headed Aizen" of Kōyasan (Fig 3) but it titles it "Yakujin Myōō," suggesting an incorporation of faiths.

Another example of a standing Aizen is housed at the Wakayama Prefectural Museum and dates to the Edo Period (Fig. 4).[201] It was previously at Enpukuji 円福寺 which is in Kinokawa City and geographically very close to Amanosha. A statue of a standing Fudō from the same temple (now missing because of theft) appears to be similar enough to speculate that these were a pair. It is likely that these are copies of older statues kept at Amanosha and shifted later, but although this is impossible to confirm at present, it is known that the Aizen statue was moved to Enpukuji from the nearby Shōjōkongō-in 清浄金剛院 inside the Hachiman shrine on the Nade 名手 estate (near Amanosha), and that

[199] The third was (again as temple lore has it) kept at Iwashimizu Hachiman gu.

[200] In fact, Mondo Yakujin Tōkōji's Aizen little resembles the Two-Headed Aizen, even though, intriguingly, a Buddha face emerges from the hair in place of lion's face in the more conventional Aizen, making it resemble the Amida faces found in the diadems or hair of Kannon statues to indicate Kannon's *kebutsu* 化仏.

[201] In 2015 this statue, which had been stolen and later retrieved, was reproduced by 3D printer. The reproduction is kept at Enpukuji while the original is at Wakayama Prefectural Museum.

Shōjōkongō-in had a very close relationship with Kōyasan (and thus, with Amanosha). Further research remains to establish the origins and movements of this unusual Aizen statue.[202] Finally, there is a more conventional "Two-Headed Aizen" that dates to between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and is known for certain to have been originally at Amanosha before being transferred to Kōyasan during the Meiji period movement to separate Buddhism from Shinto (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離) (Fig. 5).[203]

All three of these statues are examples of Aizens that were in some way related to Amanosha, though that the two individually standing ones were ever there—or models/copies for later or of earlier versions—is a question that awaits further research. Certainly, pre-Meiji, Kōyasan monks conducted various Shingon rituals at Amanosha. This is amply documented in, for instance, the 1305 record *Amanomiya zōtai nikki* 天野宮造替日記, which indicates such rituals in its description of site construction.[204] Nevertheless, the Aizen- Fudō pairing was at its height during the thirteenth century and perhaps its strongest representation of the transcendence of duality was realized in the two-headed version of Aizen (one of whose heads was sometimes that of Fudō). In any case, the standing stances of the two Myōō is explained as requisite to the speed with which they could transform into their *suijaku* forms, and their suijaku forms are required at speed in order to, presumably, race out and defend the realm against enemies. Yūshin's account (though a few decades

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[202] Personal communication with Ōkochi Tomoyuki 大河内智之, curator, Wakayama Prefectural Museum, in August 2018.

[203] *Yama no shinbutsu: Yoshino, Kumano, Koya* 山の神仏～吉野、熊野、高野 (Osaka: Osaka shi bijutsukan 大阪市美術館, Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts, The Mainichi Newspapers, Mainichi Broadcasting System, 2014), 176.

[204] A digitized copy is available at Wakayama Prefectural Library and online here: https://www.lib.wakayama-c.ed.jp/monjyo/archive/komonjyo/niuke/index.html

later) of these kami's miracles, mentioned above, testifies to this almost physical conceptualization: they had exited their shrines with much thunderous aplomb in order to defend against the Yuan dynasty troop invasion. While primacy of the kami as realm-protectors was a current ideology, here and in the opening section, the "Aizen-behind-the-kami" can be understood as a realm-protector (as it is in the use of its bows and arrows). But rather than a protector against an invader external to the realm, it is against an internal threat to the community. The next query in *Takusenki* is responded to with further detail about this and correspondence between the Myōō and the kami, and with other objects and powers is revealed:

> Fudō-Aizen are the Diamond and Womb worlds. If one takes Niu Myōjin as meaning the Womb, she [also] becomes Fudō in the north. Fudō is Aizen and Aizen is Fudō. The objects held by the two Myōō— bow and arrow and sword and lasso—are active energy and passive, holding energy. Outside, [they] remove calamities, inside [they] obstruct and eliminate the hindrance of passions [i.e. emotional confusion].[205]

Here, "North" possibly signifies Amano, as indicated in the "map" (comprised of dragons and tigers) of Kōyasan given below, at 1:84 ("The tiger's head in the north is Amano"). Since this is an explanation of how this means Niu "becomes Fudō in the North," it indicates that the statues are indeed situated at Amanosha.[206] There is also a specific relationship between Fudō and Niu that is suggested by their enshrinement at Kōyasan, which I will discuss later on, and which is attested throughout *Takusenki* and other contemporary texts through their consistent identification with each other. The two types of

[205] *Takusenki*, 1:79.
[206] Rather than in Kōyasan where there were also a number of shrines for the kami.

energy given here are clearly suggestive of sexual energy. Aizen was already linked to this,[207] but as a pair the sexes with which they were identified were not fixed.[208] Here Aizen is related to the Kongōkai (the Diamond World of the Two Worlds Mandala) and masculinity; Fudō to Taizōkai (the Womb World) and femininity. The two together perform functions for worldly purposes ("outside" i.e the previously mentioned *sokusai goma*) and for inner ones. The kind of yin-yang lunar opposites that Dolce discusses[209] are absent in these examples (and this whole text) but there are resemblances to Shukaku Hosshinō's 守覺法親王 record in *Tsuiki*, which she mentions,[210] of the Aizen-Fudō dual function in a *goma* ritual whereby each serves a use for outer and inner *goma*. Finally, in a section of *Takusenki* entitled *Kashō sanmai*, an expression that normally signifies the flames of *samadhi* (meditative state) emitted by Fudō Myōō, we find what seem to be rules for a new *goma* ritual that uses as its *honzon* Aizen (or possibly the Two-Headed Aizen) rather than Fudō, and involves a repeated interchange back-and-forth of the attributes of the two deities as part of the visualization aspect of the ritual:

> The flames of Fudō are Aizen Myōō. The fire of wisdom of the Myōō burns the defilements and sins of sentient beings.[211] Or the flames are Fudō, and the body is Aizen. At such a time, the sword becomes an arrow, the lasso becomes the bow. And also, the sword becomes the bow, the lasso becomes the arrow. And also, the lasso becomes the arrow. Regarding the two ends of

[207] See Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 173-176.

[208] See Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 199-201.

[209] Dolce, "Duality and the *Kami*."

[210] Dolce, "Duality and the *Kami*," 36.

[211] The fire here is a *goma*. See the opening of *Takusenki* and the link of *goma* fire to *samadhi* fire. These are likely the rules for a new ritual using Aizen, not Fudō.

> the lasso, one is a one-pronged vajra, and one is a three-pronged vajra. When Aizen becomes Fudō, the bow is the lasso, the arrow is the sword. Also, in the teaching of the one body, when they are two Myōō, the bow is Fudō and the arrow is Aizen. Thus, the flames are the body of the living-body of Myōō. In one teaching the five colors are used. However, the practitioners of Shingon, when they face the fire [*goma*], must reside in this visualization.

The reference to "the teaching of the one body" (*ittai no narai ni oite* 於一体習) is likely a reference to *isshin ryōzu* 一身両頭, the "single body with two heads Fudō-Aizen" that, according to the *Kakuzenshō*, was articulated by Shōbō 聖宝 of Daigoji (832-909).[212] This teaching is contrasted here in the *Takusenki* with the a teaching using "the five colors" and Shingon ritualists are urged to employ instead the "teaching of the one body."

This lengthy explanation of the character of Aizen in *Takusenki* helps to contextualize the Aizen *goma* presented in the opening section as the cause of the fires that destroyed Daidenbō'in and its residences. I suggest below that it is possible that the opening section was written *after* the rest of the record, but irrespective of the composition, we can observe a ritual climate suffused with a powerful Aizen-Fudō fusion used in subjugation ritual, that using fire (both in the opening section and as described at 1:81) could effectively be equated with arson. Indeed the section title "Kashō sanmai" instantly recalls the statement at 1:3: "[The fire] should be thought of as the flames of [Aizen Myōō's] *samadhi*." In other words, the burning of Daidenbō'in is to be seen as the burning away of transgressions and obstructions such as is indicated by the flames of *136amadhi*, a furthering toward enlightenment. We also find multiple further identifications of these Myōō with other aspects of the Shingon pantheon (as well as entities specific to Kōyasan:

[212] SSZ 36: 342-343.

even the *shishi-koma-inu* (獅子狛犬 "lion-dogs") who are stated as being their *suijaku* forms at 1:65).[213] Whether or not the fires occurred as described, the image of Aizen, the arrows, and the coupling of its fiery *samadhi*-induced flames to those that destroyed Daidenbō'in's temple must have been potent ones for the readers or hearers of this account, for— as visualizations in ritual practice explicitly linked to the extinguishment of attachments (*bonnō*) and transgressions—they played a frequent and fundamental part in the ritual life, habitus, and mentality of Shingon practitioners. The combination of motifs would have resonated too in its commonalities with the contemporary discourse on "sacred wind". Justification using similarly sacred terms is found in the following articles from the opening section that deal with doubts concerning fights between the two factions:

> It is said that at the time of the battle, all the protective kami were together with the monks of this temple [Kongōbuji]. It is said that it was because of this that none of the [Kongōbuji] temple monks were killed. I voice my doubts [about this]. One monk lost his life in battle. The answer was given. Whether they were monks of this temple [Kongōbuji] or not, if the monks' talismans were not filled in, the result will be that they are unprotected.[214]

The subjects are unclear, but he answer here may have been given by the kami delivering the *takusen* via the chigo: oracular delivery was a moment often used as an opportunity for questions to be posed to the possessing spirit, and this may be one such exchange. The reason given for the deaths of monks on the Kongōbuji side, despite the stated protection of the kami, is that names were not entered onto the *Kyōshū no fuda*. This

[213] "[The reason] that the *Shishi-koma-inu* are put in front of the god is that they are wife and husband. The two have the *honji* Fudō-Aizen and protect the deities."

[214] *Takusenki*, 1:4.

is mentioned later in the text, though without context, at 1:40: "The entering of [words into] the *kyōshū fuda* was entirely the will of the gods. They should have been written in quickly [without bother]." *Kyōshū* were those who had applied for and received permission to advance within the monastic hierarchy at Kōyasan. A *fuda* 札 is a label, often protective, and seems to refer here to a talismanic material marked with names for the purpose of battle protection. Indeed, medieval warriors had a custom of writing the names of gods onto their garments or armor as a form of protection.[215] The *kami* here are described as having accompanied the monks of Kongōbuji into battle (the conflict is notably referred to this way rather than as a one-sided attack) and that any death was simply a result of not having inscribed words onto a protective *fuda*. The explanation given here surely addressed concerns of the Kongōbuji monks as to the seeming lack of the support of the deities in the violence, as did the confirmation at 1:2 that the deities approved the burning of the buildings. All this indicates a lack of consolidation in the community, which the account itself was presumably produced to counter.

In the following articles, the Kongōbuji monks are implicitly exonerated; the exiles suggested as having been unnecessary; the attainment of the forgiveness of the *kami* is stated; and that the *kami* protected the exiled monks is assured. The influence of the widespread notions of "divine protection of the realm" (鎮護国家 *chingo kokka*) and Japan as "the realm of the kami" (神国 *shinkoku*) also inform the account:

[215] Ishii Susumu 石井進, *Nihon no rekishi 12: chūsei bushidan* 日本の歴史 12〜中世武士団, Shōgakukan 小学館, 1974), 194.

> [Kongōbuji] temple monks: even if you are were not at that scene of the crime, even if it was said that exile had not been necessary, if this as a warning were not issued, calamities across our land would occur and would not cease.[216] Therefore, even though the exile took place, it was according to the rules of society and arranged by Daishi Myōjin, and all the kami of the land[217] were consulted and it [the original crime] was forgiven. Accordingly, at the time of forgiveness the Myōjin manifested themselves [*yōgō*][218] to the temple monks.[219]

Here we find an early introduction to "Daishi Myōjin": a deity quite distinct from the other kami associated with Kōyasan, a distinction that is discussed in Chapter 5. Following this, an interpretation of the presence of *bushi* at Kōyasan is offered. It is an expedient means (*hōben*); whether the *bushi* wish for it or not, simply being on the mountain creates a

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[216] Here the concept of 'all the kami of the land' as protectors of the realm may be interpreted as being employed as means of protecting the social order necessary to maintain the *kenmon taisei*. It was part of the *shinkoku* discourse, and, as Rambelli writes, "when employed in order to exclude heretical and subversive elements from the *kenmitsu taisei*, it also proved useful in efforts to solve the violent disputes and confrontations that frequently arose between medieval religious institutions, in particular over matters of prestige, power, and territorial control" (Fabio Rambelli, "Religion, Ideology of Domination, and Nationalism: Kuroda Toshio on the Discourse of Shinkoku," in The Legacy of Kuroda Toshio, edited by James C. Dobbins, special issue of Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 23.3-4 (1996), 405). A better-known and perhaps clearer example of calamities across the realm occurring as a result of unorthodox worship is found in Nichiren's *Risshō ankoku ron* 立正安国論 (*Treatise on Establishing the Right Teaching and Bringing Peace to the Land*) of 1260, just nine years after the takusen (if we accept the dating of the takusen, previously discussed). Nichiren stated that a return to the true teachings (*seikyō* 正教) and a cessation of, for example, the *senjū nenbutsu* practice of Hōnen, and the spread of Pure Land doctrines, was required to bring a realm struck by natural disasters back to order. He claimed the disasters were both Buddha punishments and the result of kami withdrawal in response to wrongheaded practices). There is a "peace of the nation" discourse shared between this text and the takusen record; in the latter, it is not only the monks who practice misguidedly who are exiled in order to restore peace, but those monks who punished them (that is, the Kongōbuji monks) as well.

[217] 日本国諸神. In the Insei era, "a new type of *shinkoku* discourse appeared… that concerned itself with the totality of the Japanese gods" (rather than a particular set of gods) (Rambelli, "Religion, Ideology of Domination, and Nationalism," 394 and Satō Hiroo, referenced therein).

[218] Note that manifestation of the gods functioned as a means or sign of permission to act. The meaning of manifestation is important because it is linked to the production of icons based ostensibly on *yōgō*.

[219] *Takusenki*, 1.5.

special link with Buddhism, in this case with Kōyasan's Shingon Buddhism (specifically, of course, that of Kongōbuji):

> When the temple monks were exiled, all the kami manifested themselves inside [the temple]. Each in turn offered its protection. Outside, *bushi* on horseback are on strict guard night and day and during this time the authorial light [*iko*] of Daishi Myōjin increases ever more. Even if the warriors [*bushi*] have no intention of paying their respects [*sankei*] to the deities, ascending the mountain creates a link [*kechien*]. Therefore, this is the expedient means of Daishi Myōjin.[220]

This special link with the mountain merely through being present on it had been a maxim since the beginnings of the rise of pilgrimage to Kōyasan in the early eleventh century, and is encapsulated in remarks that became well-known, found in the early twelfth century *Kōya Daishi go kōden* 高野大師御広伝 by Seiken (聖賢). The passage relates that Fujiwara Michinaga (who had made a pilgrimage to Kōyasan in 1023) had had the priest Ningai explain the meaning of a dream to him in which the following information was revealed:

> Kōyasan is an eternally sacred place, where the buddhas of the past, present, and future guide [*yuke* 遊化] people. The good *kami* take turns protecting it, and the constellations visit it each night. It is the site of Sakyamuni's turning of the dharma wheel [preaching] as well as the [future] site of Miroku's preaching. If one steps upon its ground just once, the three evil worlds[221] will be avoided. If one makes a pilgrimage to this mountain [temple complex] just

[220] *Takusenki*, 1:6.

[221] The term "three evils" is used (*san'aku* 三悪) but here it is likely an abbreviation of the three samsaric paths (out of six) associated with bad karma (*san'aku dō* 三悪道), those of hells, hungry ghosts, and animals.

once, they will without doubt encounter the dawn of the three dharma lectures.[222] I asked Priest Ningai of the (Shingon) sect about this.[223]

The passage at 1:6, above, clearly employs the discourse found here. The protection of the "good kami" is replaced by the "various kami" (as, at 1:5, as well, which I translate there as "all the kami of the land"), as manifesting, but likewise protecting "in turn"; the divine *kechien* link is referred to as well. The alteration of the type of *kami* is a sign of the times: Rambelli, referencing Satō, has noted that in the Insei era (beginning in 1086), "a new type of *shinkoku* discourse appeared… that concerned itself with the totality of the Japanese gods" (rather than a particular set of gods).[224] It was expressed as "*Nihon koku shoshin*" 日本国諸神 or just "*shoshin*"). The Chūin-ryū employed this pilgrimage discourse throughout *Takusenki* and in other of their works, (as well as, as I suggest in the next chapter, their painting inscriptions) not—as it was more commonly used—in connection with pilgrimage, but rather as a means of countering the threat of decline or desertion and maintaining the community in residence. The notion was utilized in various ways as part of the ideological construction of the space of Kōyasan. Here specifically it is employed to recast the stationed warriors as lucky beneficiaries of their posts, effectively ennobling a criminally violent faction in need of governmental surveillance.

The exiles are similarly portrayed as beneficial: they are opportunities for proselytizing. Indeed, Dohan conferred a number of initiations while he was in Sanuki

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[222] To be delivered by Miroku, the future Buddha, on his descent from Tosotsuten 5.67 billion years after the nirvana of Shakamuni.

[223] *Kōya Daishi go kōden* 高野大師御広伝 by Seiken (聖賢); ZGR 8.

[224] Rambelli "Religion, Ideology of Domination, and Nationalism," 394.

province; records for 1245 alone confirm four.[225] At (1:7) *Takusenki* relates: "[i]t was the arrangement of Daishi Myōjin that the Ajari Dōhan of Shōchi'in went down to Sanuki. Because it is the birthplace of Daishi he went down to that place. It may have been to revive Zentsūji." The verb used is not that for "exile" but *gekō* 下向, which is more appropriately descriptive of a pleasant trip (and which I translate as "went down"). The change in nuance through language use is of note as it is part of the construction of a justification of the acts leading to exile. Again, at 1:9 and 1:10, the exile as an expedient means for spreading the teachings is emphasized: "Because the temple monks were exiled, the Buddhist Law was spread throughout all regions, as was talent. This is the expedient means for salvation through teaching and for dispensing wisdom [*kedo-rishō*]." (1:9). *Kedo* is an abbreviation of *Kyōke saido*: to save sentient beings through teaching and guidance, whilst *rishō* is the dispensation of wisdom (by buddhas) for the benefit of sentient beings. Many other such examples of misfortune as *hōben* (Sk. *upaya*; expedient means) from this period can be found: a similar and temporally proximate application of the idea appears, for example, in *Nomori no kagami* (dated to 1295) which asserts that the invasions by the Yuan Dynasty troops were *hōben* orchestrated by the Japanese *kami* in order to bolster Buddhism during the *mappō* period.[226] The next article is even more transparent in assessing the exile destinations as places of enjoyment, for "[a]lthough here have been many people exiled both in the past and nowadays, it has never happened before that the place of exile is enjoyed. This is absolutely because of the protection of the Myōjin."[227]

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[225] Sato Mona 佐藤もな, 2003: 89.

[226] See Rambelli, "Religion, Ideology of Domination, and Nationalism," 408.

[227] *Takusenki*, 1:10.

Expressions of expedient means with regard to exile were not special to Kōyasan; similar ones are used in accounts of Hōnen's exile to Shikoku, for example, an indication of the role *kami* worship played in the negotiation of social problems. Yūkai's *Ategawa*, which I examine more closely below, reflects the same mode of thinking. In this dialogue between Yūkai and his *deshi* (follower), the former asserts that it is according to the will of the *kami* that the two scholar monks were sent away, in order that they may spread the teachings: "Question: "What does it mean that those great scholar-monks were exiled according to the will of the *kami*?" [Master's] answer: "this *takusen* occurred, and then those great scholar-monks were sent down to various provinces: in other words, to spread that lineage of Shingon. Hosshō, Dōhan, etc, they all spread Shingon in their places of exile."" And although the source is unclear, according to the *Dentōkōroku* 傳燈廣録 by Yūhō 祐寶, a *takusen* with the following words issued by the Koyasan *kami* on the occasion of the exiles in 1243 explicitly expresses the very same notion of the expedient means of the *kami* with the statements "[p]erhaps it was an unexpected disaster that Hosshō and Dōhan experienced. Or perhaps it was an expedient means of the great kami, difficult to understand" and "Sho [Hosshō] and Han [Dohan] are exiled. This is the act of the Daimyōjin. [These] eminent monks of this temple, these people of Mahayana are lost. It is in order that the Dharma store of secrets may widely spread. Peace will permeate everything. You people should not grieve. The teachings will disappear in various places. [And these monks] will somehow be brought again to our mountain."[228]

[228] ZSZ 33, 388.

It is furthermore stated that the Daidenbō'in monks were a danger to the entire mountain (i.e. the temple complex) and it is stressed that the teachings of (Kōbō) Daishi would have been extinguished had they not been defeated. The emphasis on the Shingon school teachings of Kōbō Daishi is important: it permeates the concerns expressed in literature by the Chūin-ryū during this period, in their fear of decline, and in their efforts to legitimize themselves by stressing their links to the founder. Moreover, the loyalty of those remaining at Kōyasan is urged, again indicating the need for consolidation and for unquestioning support of Kongōbuji: "If the [monks of] Denbō'in had won, Daishi's Buddhist Law would have become extinct. That is to say, the whole mountain was in danger. Everyone should be fearful in every part of their bodies. It was against the will of the deities, so the ones [monks] who haven't taken a position [on this] will not be protected like the others, regardless of their devotion."[229]

Further on, at 1:11 and 1:12 the mental state of the Daidenbō'in monks is called into question and they are even called upon to commit suicide: "The *hijiri* and monks of Denbō'in, because of their imbalanced minds [*kokoro*], even if there were a punishment at Toba'in,[230] according to faith this is [a form of] Daishi's protection."[231] "The Denbōin monks, though they had this matter on this mountain, [they were] especially suffering from delusional attachment. But in other places, [they are] called *Kōya hōshi*. Therefore, they are not entirely evil. Because we forgive you—although this evil deserves a death sentence—

[229] *Takusenki*, 1:8.

[230] This may have had something to do with Rokuhara, where the *bakufu* had a court for dealing with crimes, based in Kyoto. Toba'in was geographically near to Rokuhara.

[231] *Takusenki*, 1:11.

shouldn't you kill yourselves?"[232] Finally, it is pledged that (regardless of the punishments to the Kongōbuji monks) retribution by arson would again be visited upon offenders were conflict to occur again: "Though disturbances have occurred again and again, next time there is conflict, [if] this temple is entered [invaded] arson should be ordered. It was according to [this] deep conviction that it all became ash and ember, and ended."[233] Following this item comes the statement: "[The discussion of] Denbō'in matters ends here."

The text provides a valuable insight into the attitudes of the Kōyasan monks at that time, those anxious and uncertain following the conflict, and those seeking to reassure them, and to justify the events and consolidate the community. It shows how Kongōbuji scholar monks employed a repertoire of established exegetical techniques and images or concepts from their rituals to interpret and present a political issue and its related violence to their own community. They also drew upon more widely shared concepts of expedient means, beneficial teachings, and guidance to sentient beings to shape their narrative of the events. Additionally, they creatively employed Kōyasan-centric pilgrimage discourse regarding contact with the site as a means of attaining a divine connection, spinning it to present new meaning to the conflict and its aftermath. Within the wider context of studies of the interactions between religion and politics, and the subject of sacred violence, the language use here is of comparative interest. It ought too to be noted though, that, as scholars such as Taira Masayuki, Rambelli, and others have shown, punishments incurred by Buddhist institutions in the medieval period were considered by those institutions as

[232] *Takusenki*, 1:12.
[233] *Takusenki*, 1:13.

being compassionate means of correcting transgressions. This interpretation of punishment must be considered as a further context to the violence that Kongōbuji inflicted upon Daidenbō'in, and may serve as a corrective to an excessively or one-sided cynical (or "secular") take on their presentation of their actions.

In this next part I will briefly examine the dating and authorship of this section before examining ideas offered by later commentators as to the cause and the meaning of both the conflict and the oracular text. One compelling suggestion is to some extent borne out by the content of *Takusenki*: we find that at least one function the oracle served was as a means of legitimizing the Henmyō'in monk, Yūshin, in order to prevent the potential severance of a lineage. We also find the link between exile and notions of teachings-as-spirits that must be embodied, notions that made oracular possession by a "kami teacher" (Daishi Myōjin) a viable method of remedying a breach in lineage by providing temporarily embodied teachings.

3. Disembodied teachings: On authorship, date, and function

Takusenki was the product of a kami occupying the body of a child medium in order to convey important instructions and teachings for the monastic community of Kōyasan. These teachings required a body through which they could be expressed. Such a requirement, but as it pertained to living monks who had mastered teachings and could transmit them to others, was of great importance at the time at Kōyasan, and elsewhere. In fact, the fear of teachings becoming untethered from their teachers is a chief preoccupation of the text itself, and of other texts related to it. The surge in activity in compiling oral

transmissions into volumes of text at this time was in part a response to this. Considering these concerns, the question of authorship (and as it relates to *author*ity regarding transmission) presents unusual issues. Putting aside for a moment its origination in a kami, *Takusenki* was likely the result of a collaborative effort of several people. It is usually attributed in full to Dōhan and his is the name finalizing the list of signatures, but five people (apparently witnesses to the oracular possession) are listed as vowing to keep the *kishōmon* contract. While Dōhan's precise role and the process of text production remain somewhat obscure, a survey of the problems attending these issues can help to determine the function and character of the text. Bringing to attention for the first time in scholarship Yūkai's intriguing commentary on both the *takusen* and its record alerts us to the importance of them both in the establishment of institutional order.

The recorder and compiler of *Takusenki* has been given as Dōhan by texts such as *Kōyasan Tsūnenshū* 高野山通念集 of 1672 (hereafter *Tsūnenshū*)[234] and the *Fudoki*. However, mention at article 1:6 of the presence of *bushi*, who, the text suggests, appeared *after* the monks had been exiled suggests that this part of the text was not penned by Dōhan himself, but by someone else during his exile. Also, there is no reference to the return of the exiles, which—had it been written after Dōhan's return—might be expected given the focus on explaining their fates. Rather, there is the startling suggestion that Daidenbō'in monks should take their own lives, and an overall sense that the writer's viewpoint is the one of a complete victor. Furthermore, absent is any sense of an awareness that Daidenbō'in monks

[234] Ichimuken Dōji 一無軒道治, "*Kōyasan tsūnenshū* 高野山通念集," in Vol. 2 of *Kinsei bungei sōsho: Meisho ki* 近世文芸叢書名所記, (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1910). Also published by Osaka: Kadoya shobō 角屋書房, 1970.

may rebuild their temple and restore their position at Kōyasan, as talks in 1248 suggest was about to happen as a condition of the Kongōbuji's monks' return from exile. It is thought that rebuilding was forbidden when exile was imposed in 1243. The two punishments were seen to be equal in weight. Yūkai writes that Daidenbo'in reconstruction would be permitted with the exoneration of the Kongōbuji monks. Additionally, there is a speculative comment about Dōhan's exile destination. The writer suggests why Dōhan was sent to Sanuki ("It may have been to revive Zentsūji"[235]). Dōhan would have been unlikely to speculate about this himself, particularly after his return from exile, and since he had penned a detailed record of his activities at the said temple.

Dōhan completed this personal exile diary, which opens with a passage on the conflict, in Kenchō 2 (1250), a year after his return to Kōyasan and a year before oracle record is said to have been produced. The passage in question is, rhetorically, slightly different to the section in *Takusenki*. For example, Dōhan uses the word "天火" (*tenka* or *tenpi*) for the fire, meaning "fire caused by lightening" or simply "fire by natural causes." He uses "本末" (*honmatsu*; "main [temple] and branch/subordinate [temple]) for the two parties, and "凶徒" (*kyōto*; "villains") for the Daidenbōin monks (whilst *Takusenki* uses 凶心 (*kyōshin*; evil minds/hearts) and 凶院 (*kyō'in*; "evil cloister [monks]")). And even though he speaks of a "natural fire" he places the initial blame on the *honji* (Kongōbuji) monks whom he says "wanted to punish those evil monks" whilst *Takusenki* consistently emphasizes the sacred, not human, source of the act, even when it discusses the meeting in which the punishment was decided. Finally, he gives as the reason for this punishment that

[235] Previously cited in full above.

the Daidenbō'in monks had forgotten their place in the status hierarchy of the two temples. This is rather less grand a reason than that given in *Takusenki*: the potential extinction of Kōbō Daishi's Buddhist teachings: "If the [monks of] Denbō'in had won, Daishi's Buddhist Law would have become extinct. That is to say, the whole mountain was in danger. Everyone should be fearful in every part of their bodies. It was against the will of the deities, so the ones [monks] who haven't taken a position [on this] will not be protected like the others, regardless of their devotion."[236]

The differences in word-usage and tone between the exile diary account and that in *Takusenki* are minimal ones, and variant terms and even attitudes do not make common authorship an impossibility, but it is possible that the *takusen* transcript and the first section on the conflict may have been made at different times. Although the original is not available for examination, this process of production is also suggested by Yūkai. Yūkai was the earliest commentator on the oracle (the other records concerning it date to the Edo period). In *Ategawa Yakusō Chū Ki* 阿互川薬草中記[237] (hereafter *Ategawa*) he tentatively proposes that the *takusen* was delivered *before* the Daidenbōin attack, and just before the exiles. In *Jitsugosho*[238] he also says that Hosshō was one of the witnesses and he gives Hosshō as one of the co-authors of *Takusenki* in *Ategawa* as well. Yet Hosshō had died in

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[236] *Takusenki*, 1:8.

[237] Yūkai 宥快, "*Ategawa Yakusō Chūki* 阿互川藥艸中記" (1413) in *Misshū gakuhō* 密宗学報 25 (1915) 111-128.

[238] 實語抄. I consulted a copy kept at Kōyasan University library. There is a copy available online here also: http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/iview/Frame.jsp?DB_ID=G0003917KTM&C_CODE=XSE1-13311&IMG_SIZE=&PROC_TYPE=null&SHOMEI=%E3%80%90%E5%AE%9F%E8%AA%9E%E9%88%94%E3%80%91&REQUEST_MARK=null&OWNER=null&BID=null&IMG_NO=1

exile, as Dōhan reports with lamentation in his exile diary. This may support the attribution of an earlier date for the record of the *takusen* itself, or just for the opening section. Ultimately though, whether it was Dōhan or his supporters that wrote the opening section does not detract from the wider role of the document as a whole as a sacred justification for the acts of the Kongōbuji monks and as support for the Chūin-ryū members in particular.

However, if it had been produced while Dōhan was in exile it may (also) have functioned as a tool in petitioning for his return. A letter was dispatched from Kōyasan for that very purpose, and its language resembles that used in the *Takusenki* account, which supports this theory. This missive was signed by, among others, Shinben 眞辨 (?-1262) and Shōso 尚祚 , who together with Dōhan and Hosshō made up the group of four celebrated disciples of the leading scholar monk and debater Kakukai. Shinben was teacher of the above-mentioned Yūshin the oracular witness, *Takusenki* signatory, and—according to Yūkai—intended recipient of the teachings contained therein. They were thus companions and fellow debaters with Dōhan and Hosshō in the assemblies that were flourishing in the years before the exiles (and for far longer before that)[239] and they petitioned the *bakufu* for the forgiveness and return of the exiles. The rhetoric in the letter of 1247 that bears similarities to that of *Takusenki* is as follows:

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[239] E.g. Jōhen's 静遍 (1165-1223) *Hishumongiyō* (秘宗文義要) of 1215 which has an *okugaki* that records it was lectured (講説) for Dōhan, Hosshō, and Shoso in 1222 (see Ōshika Shinnō 大鹿眞央 , "Chūsei tōmitsu kyōgaku ni okeru shukuzen kaishaku no tenkai: Dōhan no shukuzen kaishaku o chūshin ni 中世東密教学における宿善解釈の展開～道範の宿善解釈を中心に," *Chizan gakuhō* 智山学報 63 (2014), 139). Shōso wrote the *Shisho Myōjin kōshiki* 四所明講式 liturgy which was connected to the Rissei Rongi debates and their associated *Myōjin-kō* priest group. See Chapter 7.

> [If the exiles] do not return to the clouds of this mountain [temple], they will become homesick spirits [of the dead]…If the exiles are left [there and] do not return and live here…and become dust in peripheral regions, who will transmit Daishi's teachings, [who will] gift the teacher's explanations? How can the oral transmissions be told? They cannot. The teachings are something a person has [i.e. holds] and the teachings protect the realm. If there is no one who holds the teachings, there is no protector of the realm, so for the sake of the teachings and the sake of the realm, can't you do something to forgive [the exiles]? [240]

Here, there are allusions to Bai Juyi's 白居易 poem, *Shinpō seppio* (新豊折臂翁 *Old Man of Xinfeng with a Broken Arm*), in both the use of the term "homesick spirits" (*bōkyō no ki* 望郷の鬼) and in the character for "cloud" (one of two characters used for Yunnan province, about which the poet writes). These are resonant for the military aspect they evoke (it concerns a man who evades military conscription). In *Takusenki* the conflict is indeed presented as a "battle." It would of course have also brought to mind in its readers the real exiles of Bai Juyi himself. But most importantly, it must have been intended to arouse sympathy for the Buddhist state of *muen* (無縁) in which the spirits of the uncared-for dead would be bound to inhabit. It laments those who die in foreign lands: since their bones could not be properly attended to they would become ghosts homesick for their native lands. Moreover, by this time, Kōyasan had become famed as a place at which bones could be buried not only for its residents but for those who wished to be close to Kōbō Daishi's place of "eternal meditation" and the anticipated descent there of Miroku. When viewed in the context of Kōyasan's practices Bai Juyi's plaintive verse would surely have stirred still deeper emotions: "My body would have died and my soul hovered by the bones

[240] In Toganoo, *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 106.

that no one gathered, / A ghost, I'd have wandered in Yün-nan, always looking for home."[241]

Three exiles had already died, and presumably become such homesick ghosts: they are identified in the letter as the "School Head (Gakutō) Genchō 源朝 Ajari;" the "Sekigaku (碩学 Great Scholar) Hosshō 法性 Ajari;" and the "Scholar-monk 学徒 Gakutō Kōen Sanro 弘円山籠." In relation to this, the emphasis on the importance of maintaining control of the teachings and their transmissions, and on the teachings as functioning to protect the realm (the well-established *chingo kokka* ideology), is heavy, as it is in *Takusenki* – specifically, the concern for the decline in transmission of Kōbō Daishi's teachings because of the absence of certain figures. The concept of the importance of a qualified human holder of these teachings (as opposed to texts, for example) is one that arises elsewhere in *Takusenki*, and one to which we will return below.

Shōso and Shinben were among thirty-five scholar monks connected to Rengejō'in that signed this letter to the *bakufu* expressing their distress. Genchō (one who died in exile) had been the School Head of Rengejō'in, and Rengejō'in's status and place at the time as the main site of *hōdan* (discussions of the teachings) was naturally impacted by the exiles of the scholar monks. Rengejō'in was of particular importance to Kongōbuji, and this is perhaps why it is mentioned in the *Takusenki*, at 1:26, where we are told that "[a]ll the kami listen at Rengejō'in's[242] *Dai-e* (Great Assembly) and the assembly is honored by the

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[241]身死魂飛骨収 / 應作雲南望鄉鬼 Translation from "A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems," Arthur Waley, Alfred A. Knopf Inc., New York, 1919.

[242] Here the characters for Rengejō'in are 蓮華乗院 but it was also written with characters of the same sound 蓮花定院.

attendance of the great past master/s." Rengejō'in held this noted *Dai-e* (known fully as *Denbō Dai-e*, "Great Assembly for Transmitting the Teachings") in its *Dai-e dō* (Dai-e Hall), as noted in the *Yasan Myōreishū*.[243] According to *Yasan* the Dai-e was also called the *Shūshaku no dangi* (宗釈乃談義) and took place over a period of fifty days from the eleventh day of the fifth month each year. It was attended by one hundred and twenty scholar monks as well as the *kengyō* and the two "school heads" (*ryōgakutō*), and harsh penalties were exacted on those who did not attend.[244] Rengejō'in had been built by Itsutsuji Sai'in (五辻斎院) (Shōshi 頌子 (Nobuko) Naishinnō 内親王 (1145-1208)) as a memorial temple for (her father) Toba'in. Toba'in had donated part—and later all—of the Minabe (南部) estate, which she had then inherited, to raise money for the provisions it required.

It seems—significantly, for the understanding of the context of the *Takusenki*—to have also been a site for discussions (*Naganichi dangi* 長日談義 (this differs from the *Dai-e* of Rengejō'in mentioned above)) between Kongōbuji and Daidenbō'in for ironing out their differences. They were attended by a large number of monks from these factions, though they took place long before the more violent discord mentioned in *Takusenki*, and attendance of Daidenbō'in monks seems to have ended sometime previous to this.[245] From 1177 on, Rengejō'in occupied a place in the central complex, the Danjō Garan (it was

[243] Hinonishi, *Yasan Myōreishū* 1, 39.

[244] Toganoo, *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 104-5.

[245] Toganoo *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 101.

previously in the precincts of a temple affiliated with Daidenbō'in).[246] However, it was in the Kamakura period that it truly began to fulfill its function as a "debate site" (*hōdansho*) when it was the headquarters for *hōdangi* 法談義: discussions of esoteric *kyōsō* 教相 (doctrine). Clearly, as a major center for scholarship, the expulsion of its leading lights dealt a heavy blow to Kongōbuji.

Returning the letter sent to the *bakufu*, the expression 邊土 (*hendo*), meaning "peripheral regions," is of note. It was one often used in the context of *mappō* thought, and—while he subjects the conventional view of the latter to a re-examination—Sato Hirōo's explanation of this phrase is helpful to our understanding of its use here. These "peripheral regions" were specifically perceived so because they were thought of as located (geographically and temporally) "on the edge of the Buddhist cosmos, a dark society caught in the final age of Buddhist Dharma (*mappō*), and a place where evildoers thrived."[247] There are many similarities in the letter with the rhetoric of *Takusenki*'s opening section regarding the institutional conflict, but there is also an overriding urgency concerning the loss of teachings as a result of dispersal of those who held them, something to be seen against the background of the letter's use of the word "*hendo*." The allusions to Bai Juyi's poem suggest that there was another possible level to the contrast made between "clouds" and "dust in peripheral regions" in the letter. In his letter to the emperor in 808 regarding his courtly position, the poet set life in the "mud" against that of "riding in the clouds."[248]

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[246] Toganoo, *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 101, 107.

[247] Satō Hiroo, "The Emergence of Shinkoku in Japan," in eds. Henk Blezer and Mark Teeuwen, *Challenging Paradigms: Buddhism and Nativism. Framing identity discourse in Buddhist environments* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 30.

[248] Translation by Eugene Fiefel, *Po Chi-I As A Censor*, (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1961): 186.

Were Shinben and his cohort demonstrating their mountain's compliance with the ruling powers, and the exiles to a fall from grace and from political centrality?

The scholar monks' link between Bai Juyi's spirit of the body of a dead warrior left in a far-off land with the bodies of the exiles and their potential fate was one that would have come (and for Bai Juyi too) from knowledge of a deeper corpus of Chinese poems that twinned the themes of exiles and of the practice of "soul-summoning." The *Chu ci* anthology (*Songs of the South*; Jp. *Soji* 楚辞) combined these repeatedly as an integrated theme. It was not only to rival knowledge that Kongōbuji could lose its teachings and its authority as the authentic line back to Kūkai; it could also lose them through deprivation of their their prized scholar monks in exile. Both teachings and spirits would be left, disembodied, to wander. Indeed, in the *Takusenki*, they describe teachings *as* spirits: "Although there are halls and monks' lodgings at this temple, as long as this teaching [*daiji*] is not transmitted it is as if it has no spirit.[249] And Yūkai cites this, remarking as below, and indicating explicitly that the teachings were, vitally, carried by *bodies*:

> These are the teachings transmitted through the generations of Daishi, Shinzen, Mukū, Senkan. However, in the group at Henmyōin, these teachings were lost. And so, in Kenchō 3, the Myōjin communicated through Jishi Ōmaru and said, "Even if there is a building, there are no monks." The Elders (*shukurō*) who were the group [there] heard this and asked what it meant that there were "no monks." The Myōjin replied, saying, "There is no one who can transmit the teachings of the sect.[250]

[249] *Takusenki* 2:38.

[250] Yūkai, *Chūinryū inge sōjō denju roku*, 351.

This section is, as much as anything else, a representation of the desperation to retain these embodied truths, and it is no coincidence that the monks concerned with its production (and those exiled) engaged in what might be called "shamanistic" activities. They were Shugenja and they were familiar with spirit possession, and even soul-summoning (as indicated by a description of a Shugenja's attempts at it, in a later part of *Takusenki*. Nor is it a coincidence that the text occurs in tandem with an uptick in production of textualized oral teachings. This is another important context against which the letter and the *Takusenki* account must be understood: the significance of "oral transmission" (especially of "secret teachings" which constituted a "culture"[251]) in the esoteric schools of the time. This was a period of such transmissions, which were often noted down on *kirigami* (strips of paper), and which were being compiled into volumes from the tenth century onward. The *Takusenki* is itself one type (though notably different in origin via a *kami* rather than a living monastic teacher, and in its production as near-instantaneous record rather than as compilation of temporally disparate *kirigami*); others, more typical, are the *Koyasan hiki*, for example, or the *Koya kuketsu* (both either written by or associated with Dōhan). Such texts were called *shōgyō* and their increased production is related to the interest in (and patronage of) ritual technologies by noble families. But they were also quite likely a symptom of the need to compile and lock down knowledge (as well as to distinguish and bolster the identities and prestige of the proliferating sects), a need indicated in the Kongōbuji monk's entreaties in the letter and in *Takusenki.* It ties in quite naturally, too, with the formation and solidification of lineages taking place at the time.

[251] Jacqueline I. Stone, Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Japanese Buddhism. Kuroda Institute, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 97-152.

And so, we can see here in the opening section of the record within its cross-textual and historical context, a coalescence of concerns with institutional order, fear of decline, and relatedly, the authenticity of teachings as carried and transmitted by qualified figures (including *kami* and deceased ancestral figures, as will become clearer in later chapters). It was by no means merely a cynical justification for rivalry and aggression. This makes Yūkai's tentative musings on the matter, to which I turn in the next chapter, more credible than they might be without context, even skewed as they were by his own project of organizing lineage and expunging heresy. In fact, Yūkai's suggestions that the oracle recorded in *Takusenki* was necessary as a means of delivering teaching and thereby legitimizing an unqualified monk can help us to bridge the seeming difference, generically, between the opening section and the rest of the record: both reflect a period of instability and the need to cement authority. And both involve the fear of lineage severance, whether through the death of exiled masters or through teachings gone awry, or unreceived for other reasons. Both bodies became "homesick spirits," and the return of teachings from Daishi Myōjin in the form of a chigo was a return home, to Kōyasan.

CHAPTER 4

The Oracle at Henmyō'in

"Mediums laugh at genius" (Jean-Jacques Schul, *Dusty Pink*[252])

"There are many heresies in the transmissions of the lineages with the names of Myōchō, Kensei, and others. This was not conjectured by man, but proclaimed by Niu Daimyōjin. The people who have practiced this method have been numerous but they have no arcane protection. For the greater part both the men and the learning became extinct on this mountain." (Yūkai, *Hōkyōshō*)[253]

1. *The history and procedures of oracular possession in Buddhism in Japan*
2. *The chigo's possession at Henmyō'in*
3. *The connections of the Henmyō'in oracle and its text to the Chūin-ryū*

1. The History and Procedures of Oracular Possession in Buddhism in Japan

"It was said that there was no *jūji* [住寺 resident caretaker] at this cloister [Henmyō'in]. At the answer that the *jūji* was Yūshin, it was said [by the deity?] that one should be called a

[252] Jean-Jacques Schul, *Rose poussière* (trans. Jeffrey Zuckerman), (MIT Press: Semiotext(s)'s Native Agents, 2018).

[253] vanden Brouke, *Hōkyōshō*, 18.

jūji as a result of having received the branch transmissions; and this was not so. Accordingly, Yūshin received these and called them the Oracle Teachings."[254] These lines appear in an account given in the late fourteenth century *Komakimono* (小巻物 "*Little Scroll*," a collection of teachings said originally to have been possessed by Meizan 明算 1019/21? - 1106), and oral transmissions (*kuketsu* 口訣) by Yūkai written down by his disciple Yūchi 宥智. Here, Yūkai asserts that the oracle at Henmyōin was necessary to legitimize the then-head of the cloister, Yūshin, who had not received the branch transmissions. As cloister head, Yūshin preceded Kakuson, the vivid dreamer encountered in the previous chapter, and, like Yūshin, a witness to the oracle and a signatory of the text of it.[255] And it appears that an element in the possession was a twelfth century former head of the same cloister, a deceased priest who was communicating the messages of Daishi Myōjin through the body of a boy. Oracular delivery in Japan, with or without possession, has been presented and interpreted in many different ways by scholars. I discuss these, showing that oracles cannot be seen as having a singular function, before turning to the circumstances and possible reasons for the Henmyō'in example which may have served more than as an exoneration of exiled monks.

It is in oracular possession that *Takusenki* is deemed to have originated, and so I would like to give an outline of this phenomenon before proceeding to the focus of this chapter, which is the oracle itself, and the reasons given for its occurrence. The early years

[254] Ōyama, *Chūinryū no kenkyū*, 570.

[255] There were five witnesses and five signatures (*saihan* 在判). These names are not only recorded in order to validate the record but also as signatures common to "*kishōmon*" contracts (one of which concludes the record), binding the witnesses to its terms regarding treatment of the document.

of the Meiji period involved the separation of kami worship from Buddhism (inasmuch as that was possible given their deep entwinement) removing items deemed proper to the established categories from "Buddhist" and "Shinto" sites, re-assigning staff to roles at one of these "purified" sites or the other. Kōyasan, while subject to much reorganization, suffered less than other sites. However, Meiji period reformers established the type of discourse an oracle was: it was subversive, and to be prohibited. Even by the Kamakura period it seems to have been regarded as the province of the lower-classes.[256] The prohibition was stated in an edict of Meiji 6 (1873), but it is rather specific. The government banned oracles delivered in states of possession, and they specified *miko* practitioners (albeit "minkanshūzoku" 民間習俗 or "folk" *miko*).[257] On the other hand, the *sanja takusen*, a model I discuss below, was in fact appropriated by Meiji Period Shinto, and the oracle of the Goō jinja 牛黄神社 in Kyoto was fêted. There were, then, a number of different kinds of oracles, at least as the government had come to understand them. Parsing the different types of oracles and the precise conditions of their acceptability during the Meiji period is a task that remains, though we do have access through records to some of the pre-modern types.

Oracles (*takusen* (託宣 or *shintaku* (神託)[258] in Japan are generally understood as divine messages from a kami to a human who is in a state of possession (*kamigakari/hyōi*)

[256] Though, as Meeks points out, this notion may simply be veiling the province as gendered. See Meeks, "The Disappearing Medium."

[257] See Miyaji Masato and Yoshio Yasumaro, 宮地正人、安丸良夫, *Nihon kindai shisō taikei: Shukyō to Kokka* 日本近代思想体系宗教と国家 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1988), 446.

[258] Sometimes, too, called *jindō no kyōmei* (神道之教命).

and are linked to divine revelation and prophecy. However, messages from a divine source are also delivered in dreams or by figures who appear to a non-possessed person in a particular state of "consciousness" cultivated by *shōjin* 精進 disciplines or incubation (*sanrō* 参籠) practices. Oracles, possessions, and dreams are all sources of information and they are often entwined. The oracle text of particular relevance to this study, the *Henmyō'in Daishi Myojin Go-Takusenki* is in fact a good example of the coalescence of these forms of information access/transmission. It was delivered through a spontaneously possessed child, and the oracle itself included oneiromancy (of dreams that *themselves* transmitted messages to the dreamer). Such messages appear to have functioned in a variety of ways and as a number of orders of discourse: as advice or discipline - often concerning monastic conduct (e.g. Myōe's 明恵 interactions with the Kasuga deity in the thirteenth century);[259] prophecy regarding harvests and communal matters; instruction for the foundation of institutions (e.g. Kōyasan's doctrinal debates, or Gyōgi's seeking of approval from Ise 伊勢 for the construction of a Buddhist statue); political intervention (e.g. the oracles uttered by Okinaga Tarashi-hime in the early eighth century official court (mytho-) chronicles *Kojiki* 古事記 and *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀, or Hachiman's 八幡 leadership-appointment oracles);[260]

[259] He was advised via an oracle of the Kasuga deity. See Mark Unno, *Shingon Refractions: Myoe and Mantra of Light* (Somerville, Massachussetts: Wisdom Publications, 2004), 141-142.

[260] For the oracles issued by the kami Hachiman, see Allan Grapard, "The Source of Oracular Speech: absence? Presence? Or plain treachery? The Case of Hachiman Usa-gu Go Takusenki," in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm* eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 77-95.

instrument of power for the socially oppressed;[261] communication from the spirits of the dead (e.g. via the female shamans called *itako* イタコ who work at Osorezan 恐山 mountain or the via possessed figures at Ontakesan 御岳山),[262] and as personal demands for their own iconography (e.g. in the cases of Sumiyoshi Myōjin 住吉明神 and Kasuga Myōjin 春日明神,[263] and the stories behind the pictorializations of Myōjin of Kōyasan.[264] They were often dialogic in conduct, and here, Carmen Blacker's broad definition is useful (if problematic in its transcultural assumption). An oracle is a: "method…of communication between two worlds or dimensions which are usually divided from each other. We…put questions which we are unable to answer for ourselves to another order of beings whose knowledge transcends the limitations of our own". [265]

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[261] Doris G. Bargen, *A Woman's Weapon: Spirit Possession in The Tale of Genji* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997). The same meaning is suggested by Allan Grapard in "Visions of Excess and Excesses of Vision: Women and Transgression in Japanese Myth," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 18. 1 (1991): 3-23, p.8: "[T]he denial of speech situations to women may have been responsible for other types of speech on their part, particularly for the "speech in tongues" that will characterize their activities as shamanesses."

[262] See Sasamori, Takefusa, "Therapeutic Rituals performed by Itako (Japanese Blind Female Shamans)," *The World of Music* 39. 1(1997): 85-96.

[263] Karen L. Brock, "My Reflection Should be your Keepsake: Myoe's Vision of the Kasuga Deity" in Robert Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf, eds., *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 49-77.

[264] See Chapters 4 and 7.

[265] Carmen Blacker and Michael Loewe, *Oracles and Divination*, (Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala, 1981),

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On the other hand, scholars such as Allan Grapard (who defines oracles as simply "speech utterances on the part of Another"[266]), Hinonishi,[267] and Brian Bocking[268] have drawn attention to the relationships between oracles and doctrine, politics, and even visual culture, from the medieval to the Edo period. Kobayashi Naoko's study of contemporary Ontakesan oracles[269] gives a portrait of practices today that offers detail on the procedures surrounding oracles and their reception.

Generally speaking, as a primary subject oracles have been paid little attention in historical and religious scholarship both inside and outside of Japan, and their relationships to developments in sect formation and doctrine has been obscured by the tendency to categorize them as a facet of "folk" or "popular" religion and history (*minzokugaku* 民俗学) and Shugendō (修験; mountain-based ascetic practices) as opposed to seeing them as embedded in institutional contexts. Just as the colorful scenes conjured up by mention of the Delphic oracle, a priestess possessed by Apollo, ecstatic on vapors and uttering riddle-like pronouncements, have come to represent all Greek and Roman oracles, yet were perhaps singularly untypical, so too—though to a far lesser extent—has Hachiman as oracular source or the frenzy of the present-day *Gohōsai* 護法祭 ritual, recently

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[266] Grapard, "The Source of Oracular Speech," 79. Bocking gives "brief, authoritative utterances by deities, usually in response to a specific request" but "brief" does not describe all oracles. Brian Bocking, *The Oracles of the Three Shrines: Windows on Japanese Religions*, Richmond Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001), 173.

[267] Hinonishi Shinjō 日野西眞定, "Kōyasan no bunka" 高野山の文化, *Reihōkan da yori* 霊宝館だより 81 (2006), 6-9.

[268] Bocking, *The Oracles of the Three Shrines*.

[269] Kobayashi Naoko 小林奈央子, "Tōkai chiiki no Ontake kō to Oza girei 東海地域の御嶽講と御座儀礼" in *Kiso Ontake shinkō to Tō Asia no Hyōrei bunka* 木曽御嶽信仰とアジアの憑霊文化 ed. Sugawara Toshikiyo 菅原寿清 (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2012), 23-60.

institutionalized by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, overshadowed a broader culture of oracles in Japan, past and present. But like recent scholarship on the Delphic and other sybilline oracles,[270] work on those in Japan has begun to shift its focus to the social, political, and cultural dimensions of oracles.

Also against their favor in scholarship until recently, oracles have been associated primarily with female figures like *miko* and the female founders of New Religions (those established from the mid-nineteenth century onward).[271] They also tend to be considered a "shamanic" practice, a category with a troubled academic reputation. The term is used, for example, in Hori Ichiro's *Nihon no shamanism* and also Carmen Blacker's chapter on Japan in *Oracles and Divination*, both of which focus on Shugendō and the practices of oracles through induction, in village festivals. The word in Japanese is katakana-ized English which should alert us to taxonomical issues in both Japanese and non-Japanese scholarship. Michael Strickmann's criticism of the use of the terms "shamanism" or "neo-shamanism" to describe certain aspects of Tantric rituals applies just as well to its use in relation to possession and oracular practices: the "semantic looseness [of these terms] threatens to obscure all meaningful distinctions among radically different types of ritual structures and social institutions."[272] Attention is increasingly being drawn to the scholarly category of

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[270] For example, Simon Price, "Delphi and Divination" in P. Easterling and J. Muir, eds., *Greek Religion and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 128-54.

[271] Gendered subordination as galvanizing the formation of "cult groups" by women is suggested by Lewis (who influenced Grapard, mentioned above). He writes that "anomalous or powerless women in many parts of the world may be particularly vulnerable to possession by spirits; on the basis of such possession, women form cult groups that rival the religious organization of men" (I.M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession* (London: Routledge, 1971), 38.

[272] Michael Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 202.

shamanism and political dimensions of the western characterization of certain practices as "shamanic" which are linked, for example, to the romantic notion of the "primitive."[273] Needless to say, these challenge Mircea Eliade's somewhat acultural, ahistorical presentation of shamanism.[274]

Such categories are viewed as less organized (by definition, perhaps) than are institutional religious groups, and consequently the subject of lineages and community formation in them (for example) are awarded less attention. Yet oracles were methods of transmitting Buddhist teachings in the major, powerful institutions but have, as a result, been largely ignored. They have also been left out of most Buddhist studies until very recently, for the same reasons as relic worship was: they were deemed an aberration of "true Buddhism." In the case of oracles, this echoes the Church's attitude in Greece and Rome, which held as inauthentic the type of speech accompanied by disordered senses. The disapprobation intersects with the (scholarly) problem with falsity and forgery (and apocrypha), a problem also heavily influenced by the Church. Bias regarding the category of "forged" sutras or texts in Buddhism (*gikyō* 偽経 or *gisho* 偽書) has skewed the study of oracles. In Japanese scholarship, the significance of works that have previously been set aside as "fake" and excluded from the study of religions has only recently been

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[273] This attention has been galvanized by Jane Monnig Atkinson ("Shamanisms Today," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1992): 307-330.

1992. For an overview of recent research, see Thomas A. DuBois, "Trends in Contemporary Research on Shamanism," *Numen* 58 (2011), 100-128.

[274] Together with that of C.G. Jung and Joseph Campbell, Eliade's works have been studied for the anti-Semitic political views they allegedly represent, by Robert Ellwood in *The Politics of Myth: A Study of C.G. Jung Mircea Eliade, and Joseph Campbell*, *SUNY series, Issues in the Study of Religion* (New York: SUNY, 1999).

reappraised.[275] In fact, the Christian discourse on this, and on the Delphic oracle, (as well as Roman discussion on Greek culture)[276] have had an impact on how oracles are viewed today even in non-Christian cultures, assuming a picture of a delirious and disordered female (or feminized) body. This is not to say that the picture does not fit what we sometimes find in Japanese history—indeed, Sei Shonagon remarks in *The Pillow Book* with characteristic candor on the garments riding up the thrashing body of a possessed *miko*, and elsewhere the feminized body is a vessel favored for its receptive capacity—but that the post-Classical view may well continue to exert some influence. On the other hand, oracles in Japanese religions (and elsewhere) now attract attention in much the same way that relics have: there is something that captures the imagination about the unnatural, dissociated utterance that purports to bring news from an otherwise inaccessible elsewhere. If this is so, we have to check our curiosity for traces of romanticism, or equally, of any desire to explain the apparently occult in rational terms.

Turning to oracles, dreams, and possessions in Japan, we will here address the orders of discourse problem by looking at the contexts in which messages from a non-human source ("authorless", in a sense) are received. Lori Meeks on *miko*, Doris G. Bargen on court women in *The Tale of Genji*, and Allan Grapard on oracular speech, and others, have paid special attention to the socio-political functions they identify in their examinations of oracles. Bocking and Hinonishi have both worked on *sanja takusen* (三社

[275] See Robert Buswell, *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), and Itō Satoshi 伊藤聡, "Gisho" no seisei: chūseiteki shisō to hyōgen「偽書」の生成～中世的思想と表現 (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2003).

[276] See, for example, Cicero *On Divination* or Plato's *Phaedrus*.

託宣 "takusen of the three shrines") texts and visual representations. Carmen Blacker on the (insufficiently studied) *Gohōsai* possession festival may be put into conversation with the late Michel Strickmann's work on the possession and oracle procedures delineated in early Buddhist scriptures. I would like to bring to all this some remarks on the oracles of Kōyasan, touching on Abe Yasurō's understanding of them.

Bargen, in her work on spirit possession in *The Tale of Genji*, interprets possession and oracles as strategies used by women (at least, as literary characters) as an expression of their unhappiness: "Although the specific nature of their discontent varies, it's underlying source is social and political";[277] It is a "momentary reprieve from a normally submissive persona and a chance to attain "spiritual power";[278] "[Murasaki's] possessed female protaganists employ *mono no ke* as a creative device to express the otherwise inexpressible."[279]

I.M Lewis's remark in his classic work on spirit possession is similar to Bargen's view. He writes that "ecstatic cults have always attracted followers among the weak and oppressed, and particularly among women in male-dominated societies": "anomalous or powerless women in many parts of the world may be particularly vulnerable to possession by spirits; on the basis of such possession, women form cult groups that rival the religious organization of men".[280] However Bargen's is also one that reduces possessive states to human political machinations. And it does not harmonize at all with other types of oracle

[277] Bargen, *A Woman's Weapon*, 257.

[278] Bargen, *A Woman's Weapon*, 249.

[279] Bargen, *A Woman's Weapon*, 27.

[280] Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, 38 and 113.

deliverance reception (which may both support her reading as confined to its context, or refute it as inapplicable to other contexts and in need of further qualification).

In Kōyasan's esoteric Shingon manuals and practices of the period, there are esoteric rituals involving the veneration of kami and in which material icons are employed, yet with whom ritual union in the sense of the mutual interpenetration (*nyūga ganyū* 入我我入) which normally characterizes esoteric Buddhist rituals, is not doctrinally possible.[281] *Nyūga ganyū* is not the same as possession. Yui Suzuki and Geoffrey Samuel have made the same point, emphatically in an explanation of kaji 加持, a procedure in which a practitioner receives power from a buddhist deity in order to heal. "Here, possession is not the forceful intrusion of a malignant entity. Instead, the higher deity-entity is enticed, or invited, to enter the body of the practitioner and extend his all-encompassing powers." Samuel describes it (in Suzuki's words) as a "reshaping…in the consciousness" as the practitioner "attempts to pattern his mode of being after the specific deity."[282]

However, Samuel is not referring to Japanese practices, and the category of "malignant entity" was not the only type to possess, as we can see from the Henmyō'in example, and from many others of the period such as Kasuga Myōjin in Myōe's accounts. These were kami who could teach and advise via a human mouthpiece. Allan Grapard takes the same basic perspective as Bargen: Jin'un 神吽, author/compiler of the fourteenth

[281] Esoteric Buddhism has been defined as that which involves the ritualistic practice of ritual identification with an icon (Michel Strickmann in *Mantras et mandarins* remarked that "le ritual du bouddhisme tantrique est l'union avec une icone." (Paris: Gallimard, 1996, 203.)

[282] Yui Suzuki, "Possessions and the Possessed," in *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, edited by Sally Promey, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 78. The text by Samuel to which Suzuki refers is "Possession and Self-Possession: Spirit, Healing, Tantric Meditation, and Āveśa" in *Diskus* 9 (2008), 6.

century *Hachiman Usa-gū Gotakusenshū* (八幡宮御託宣集 *Compendium of Oracles Proffered by Hachiman at Usa Sanctuary*) is an "old but crafty" shrine monk intent only on misleading his readers.[283] This hermeneutics of suspicion is reminiscent of Meiji-like attitudes. Examining the compendium put together by Jin'un, which he assumes to be primarily an economically motivated project (Usa sanctuary had been ruined by fire, but this was a century previous), he focuses on the way in which Jin'un presents his (non-) authorship. By emphasizing that the author is Hachiman[284] and he is but a commentator, Jin'un can guarantee the authenticity of his work. Here we find another commonality with Bargen's stance, but put slightly differently: the human relinquishment of responsibility for the message, and disassociation, verifies its truth. In both cases, there is a disassociation of writer from text and of possessed from speech. This could be put into a wider context of divine proclamations such as discussions of the Vedas and the sutras, that were conducted by those affiliated with both. These discussions asserted claims of authorless texts, and we might say that this is a category that that oracles belong to. The Vedas were described as "eternal and uncreated speech" (Sk. *sabdapramāna*) (the Mīmāmsā Vedic exegetical theory aimed (also) as criticism of the Buddhists' texts) because they have *no errors*, which are the product of humans and of contextual variants. They are authorless and unchanging. Buddhist critiques of such positions are uncannily similar (but a key difference may be the

[283] Grapard, "The Source of Oracular Speech," 79. Grapard states throughout that oracles are political commodities, and this does not jar with the *engi*-like nature of the Hachiman collection content, which walks the reader around cultic territory, explaining origins and architecture. *Engi* (broadly, origin tales of temples and shrines) were related to institutional power and patronage.

[284] Hachiman has been known as a powerful source of oracles, beginning with that which supported the Hossō monk Dōkyō's (道鏡 d.772) theocratic claim in the eighth century, and the court-associated one that swiftly followed to disavow it.

focus on sound (in the Vedic defense) and on reality in the Buddhist one).[285] Another parallel is found in the *Usa-gū Takusenshū*, where Hachiman declares that: "[o]n the Buddha level, preaching takes a form called "sutra"; on the Shinto level, it receives the name "oracle." A buddha shows his form while teaching, but a kami remains without formal aspect while speaking…"[286]

This assertion presents kami and buddha speech as being on the same level, though the description of kami without "formal aspect" is particular to Hachiman, perhaps, since other descriptions, not coincidentally those oracles that inform pictorial iconography, are extremely detailed. In other cases, the lack of form—particularly the literal effacement of a kami—is emphasized, as in Kasuga Myōjin and also Hachiman whose pictorial representations showcase a variety of ways in which the face may be obscured (a heightening of aura that might be contextualized within the culture of the upper echelons of society and their visual interactions with each other). The *Shasekishū* 沙石集, a thirteenth century *setsuwa* (説話; Buddhist tales) collection[287] relates that the Kasuga Myōjin was unwilling to show its face to a monk worshipping it since his Buddhist faith was based solely on worldly status linked to doctrinal prowess, giving the motif of facelessness and

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[285] Walter Ong and Jack Goody both discuss the Vedas but for the purpose of this topic, recommended is Donald S. Lopez Jr., "Authority and Orality in the Mahayāna," *Numen* 42 (1995), 21-47, 30-33. On Mahayana rhetoric of narrative, see Allen Cole, *Text as Father*: *Paternal Seductions in Early Mahayana Buddhist Literature* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: California University Press, 2005).

[286] Grapard "The Source of Oracular Speech," 180.

[287] By mid-Kamakura period monk Mujū 無住, compiled between 1279 and 1283. In *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 85, Iwanami shoten 岩波書店 1958. Translated by Robert E. Morrell as *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism (SUNY series in Buddhist Studies)*, (New York: SUNY, 1985).

formlessness a moral dimension. This facial exposure and concealment by kami, and indeed its link with scholar monks, will be discussed in Chapter 7. In any case, the parallel between sutra and oracle given in the Hachiman oracle collection is intriguing for implications it has for the subjects of orality, authorship, and authority. Grapard makes the point, regarding this section of the oracle collection, that while sutras cannot be questioned, oracles could be (indeed, in 755 an oracle at Usa 宇佐 disclaimed other oracles made in its name and the legitimacy of suspect oracles could be established through other forms of divination as well.)[288] But sutras and associated sacred writings can and were queried, as a long history of heresy-spotting shows. And a 1233 Tōdaiji 東大寺 temple record relays that the nun Jōadan was, on the day of the Tōdaiji Daihannya-e 大般若会 ceremony, at Hachiman shrine, "possessed by the power of the Dharma" and in this state uttered a stream of oracles. She wrote them down, calling them "*shinmon*" (真文 true texts) and enshrined them for the kami. Lori Meeks, who discusses this in her article on *miko*, notes that the term *shinmon* is normally employed for Buddhist texts written in Sanskrit.[289] Meeks gives a number of other examples in which nuns show *miko*-like qualities in terms of oracular activity. I believe that, broadly speaking, "orthodox" Buddhist texts and those delivered by kami and written down by and for use in a Buddhist community were considered in rather similar ways during the medieval period, and although further study of their comparative treatment and use is needed to demonstrate this, the Chūinryū's *Takusenki* is an example of this: it did, after all, become a *shōgyō*: a sacred work in the lineage canon.

[288] Grapard "The Source of Oracular Speech," 84.

[289] Meeks, "The Disapearing Medium," 256.

Grapard, in his study of the Hachiman oracle, focuses on the interpreter and chresmologue (compiler), Jin'un. He does not consider the role of the original amanuenses (recorder; transcriber) (perhaps because he/she/they are unknown), but these roles are slightly different ones. Both bring interpretation to a spoken oracle simply by, for example, in the one case, arranging it into text, and in the other, giving it a particular material form such as a scroll, a *kirigami* (切紙; "cut paper" memo-like pieces for transmission of a teaching) or an inscription on a painting of the kami. Further interpretation is produced by the way in which the oracular message is later accessed – is it studied in silence, read aloud, and by whom, to whom? Fröhlich (following Amino Yoshihiko) includes records of oracles (*takusenki*) (and *muki* 夢記, accounts of dreams) in a category of documents that were treated as imperial edicts (*senmyō gaki* 宣命書き) were: "They were written down according to oral wording and intended for oral recitation".[290] Two thirteenth century oracle texts found on paintings of the kami that delivered them at Kōyasan (and which I discuss in Chapter 4) were likely chanted aloud by viewers, Abe Yasurō speculates; these also indeed survive as *kirigami* transmitted within the scholar monks of a Buddhist lineage, and also among shrine priests at the related shrine.

This brings us to *sanja takusen*—"oracles of the three shrines"—which are very short textualized utterances of the kami of Ise 伊勢 (Amaterasu 天照), Hachiman, and Kasuga, and characterized by their moral content. They were/are inscribed on paintings

[290] Fröhlich, *Rulers, Peasants, and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Japan*, 27. All Fröhlich's discussion on the "making, using and keeping" of documents (p. 25-27), based on Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦, *Nihon no moji shakai no tokushitsu* 日本の文字社会の特質 in *Nihon ron no shiza: rettō shakai to kokka* 日本論の視座～列島社会と国家 (Tokyo: Shogakukan 小学館, 1990) and Michael Clanchy *From Memory to Written Word: England 1066-1307* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), is useful in considering this issue.

(with or without accompanying painted images of the kami). There are also many other paintings classed as *sanja takusen* that conversely show the kami without the texts. The earliest of the paintings is from the fifteenth century, but the oracles themselves are first recorded, in the fourteenth, as having occurred by means of an intriguing version of scrying in the late thirteenth century (and they seem to have been known about during that period). These three kami had risen to the top of the pantheon by the thirteenth century, and Daishi Myōjin was likely at least a part of Kōyasan's attempts to match the growing presence and power of these kami and the institutions with which they were associated. It should be noted that Kasuga Daimyōjin was related to Kōfukuji, a focus of model-scholarship for Kōyasan, and that it was by the thirteenth century that the "expanded" amalgamated kami Daishi Myōjin had emerged (like Kasuga Daimyōjin, who was also a combination of kami); I explore this in further detail in Chapter 5. Susan Tyler proposes, through analyses of the *Gukansho* 愚管抄[291] and the *Jinnō shōtōki*, 神皇正統記[292] that Amaterasu, Hachiman, and Kasuga were considered by the public by the fourteenth century as the kami-rulers of Japan.[293] The purity, honesty and compassion urged by the kami in their oracles here are representative of some characteristics of the Shinto doctrine being developed at the time especially in Yoshida 吉田 ("Yuiitsu" 唯一神道) Shinto, and

[291] Jien 慈円, *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, in NKBT 86, eds. Okami Masao 岡見正雄 and Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1967). Jien was a Tendai priest and wrote *Gukanshō* in around 1220.

[292] Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房, *Jinnō Shōtōki* 神皇正統記, in NKBT 87, ed. Iwasa Masashi 岩佐正. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1965). Written between 1338 and 1343. Translated by H. Paul Varley, *A Chronicle of the Gods and Sovereigns: Jinno Shotoki of Kitabatake Chikafusa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

[293] Susan C. Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through its Art* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Japanese Studies, 1992), 81

became highly popular during the Tokugawa period (among, for example, proponents of Shingaku (心学 "heart learning") and in the early twentieth centuries, and following Yoshida patronage it was disseminated into the popular spheres.[294] They may also have been linked to pilgrimages to Ise Shrine. All this is illustrative of the political and economic dimensions and uses of oracles.

On the other hand, the *Gohōsai* festival at the Shingon temple Ryōzanji 両山寺 is an example today of the economic and pilgrimage-related use of possession and oracles. It was made an "Important Intangible Cultural Property" in recent years, and while it is still somewhat locally-confined and little-known (mainly because of its site which is difficult to access), it has garnered attention with a manga, an NHK documentary, professionally produced posters, and cultural categorization as a "*kisai*" (奇祭 "strange festival"). The *Sakuyōshi* 作陽誌 , an Edo period survey, records that it was established in 1275 by monk Jōjō 定乗[295] and it seems to have originally involved prophetic oracles given by a man possessed through induction concerning harvests or other matters of importance to the community. These village oracle festivals (*takusen matsuri*) were not uncommon before the 1960s, Carmen Blacker notes in her *The Catalpa Bow*, and the *Gohōsai* seems to fit the general structure of them. In such festivals the tutelary deity would descend, answer questions, be fêted, and then dispatched back to its shrine. Blacker indicates that at the time

[294] Bocking *The Oracles of the Three Shrines*, 169-176

[295] See *Ryōzanji gohōsai* 両山寺護法祭, ed. Chūōchō kyōiku iinkai 中央町教育委員会 (1992), p.11 and also *Futagamisan chinju gohōsai shiki gyōjiki* 二上山鎮守護法祭式行事記, a document copied in 1936 but allegedly representing past procedures, in *Ryōzanji gohōsai* 両山寺護法祭, ed. Futagamisan chinjū gohōsai kiroku hozon iinkai 二上山鎮守護法祭式行事記録保存委員会, Chūōchō kyōiku iinkai 中央町教育委員会, (1980), 62-70.

of her writing the *matsuri* only survived in other places because it required people to visit the kami in the mountain—as at Ontake—rather than inviting the kami to visit the village.[296] However, in order to bring about possession the *Gohōsai* still today uses the earliest known Buddhist text to delineate the process of inducing a spirit: the *Amoghapasa sutra,* which Michel Strickmann has discussed.[297] This sutra was available in Japan and certainly amid Shingon temples from the early ninth century. The Amoghavajra translation of this possession ritual manual was brought back from T'ang by Kūkai himself. The processes delineated in it and in other early possession-related texts seem to have been employed in medieval rituals in villages for the sake of knowledge of the harvest, but also, I will suggest, in preparation for doctrinal discussions at temples. The Henmyō'in takusen at Kōyasan subverts a number of broad presuppositions about oracles that came up in the opening part of this section, but align with the uses in religious institutions such as the *Gohōsai* and those described by Strickmann (although it is significantly different in that it was spontaneous and not induced). Such presuppositions include the use of women, the association with the lower classes, and the implicit political machinations of those controlling the interpretations. In contrast, this oracle was a transmission of teachings that was delivered through a male, that assumed considerable importance at a large, highly organized and powerful religious institution, and functioned then and subsequently as a legitimization of figures, branches, and teachings.

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[296] Blacker, *Oracles and Divination*, 82.

[297] Likely earlier than its seventh-eighth century translation. Strickmann's work was unfinished at his untimely passing and completed and edited by Bernard Faure. *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 204.

2. The chigo's possession at Henmyō'in

The kami source of this oracle was a mixture of kami and patriarchs, akin to the amalgamate five-part deity of Kasuga (Kasuga Daimyōjin) who emerged at around the same time, the mid-thirteenth century. And this kami is "channeled" (is the *on-tsukai* 御使ヽ) through the figure of a past, long dead, temple priest and important lineage figure, who has possessed a male child, a chigo (稚児 acolyte). The seemingly peculiar doubling of possessing agents in the record of this makes sense if we turn to present-day practices of possession and oracle transmission, such as that undertaken by Kobayashi Naoko. The mountain peak Ontake is the site of pilgrimage for the purpose of receiving messages from kami present there. Specific sacred locations are visited and a leading monk-medium often becomes possessed by both the deity and a famed past *gyōja* 行者, an ascetic with powers attained from mountain-based practices that incorporate both Buddhist and "Shinto" elements.[298] Although many elements are suggestively comparable, one cannot, of course, uncritically cast the framework and functions of present-day Ontake practices back onto those of thirteenth century Kōyasan. Aside from the many hermeneutical problems, there are significant differences in the elements that make up the practices. For example, one important difference is the role of the child as medium at Henmyō'in.

Though it may again not be precisely applicable, Rosalind Morris's observations on contemporary mediums of Northern Thailand are of note and the comparison is valid as a tentative step toward understanding the "doubling" of the possession. She writes that, "for

[298] Kobayashi, "Tōkai chiiki no Ontake kō to Oza girei."

believers and devotees, part of the marvelousness of possession depends on the ignorance of the medium in relation to the historical knowledge that seems to be speaking through him or her".[299] This observation resonates with the case mentioned above and with medieval Japanese possessions and oracles more widely. In conjunction with Grapard's observation that the three "other worlds" in Japan are gendered in literature as female, while the fourth "real" world, Japan, is male, and that women "lead lives that appear to be irrelevant to the formal articulation of social order,"[300] we might well explain the prevalence of women and child mediums in pre-modern Japan as having to do not only with their constructed purity and otherness,[301] but also with their removal from the realm of action in the formation of knowledge. The pronouncements of those members of society deemed ignorant, could be, paradoxically, more authentic and the claim that they originated elsewhere, in a higher power, could be less assailable.

The object of possession at Henmyō'in was not a woman (such a possibility would in any case have been precluded by the prohibition of women at Kōyasan until the late nineteenth century), but a thirteen year old untonsured boy; he is referred to, as such, as a "long haired" (垂髪 *suihatsu*) in the text.[302] A certain violence attends a great number of

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[299] Rosalind C. Morris, *In The Place of Origins: Modernity and its Mediums in Northern Thailand*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000), 100.

[300] Grapard, "Visions of Excess and Excesses of Vision," 19.

[301] And penetrability (or receptivity as a physical/psychological/spiritual "carrier") if we consider the sexual status of chigo discussed by Bernard Faure and Paul S. Atkins. See Bernard Faure, *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) and Paul S. Atkins, "Chigo in the Medieval Japanese Imagination," *Journal of Asian Studies* 67. 3, (2008), 947-970.

[302] On possessed youth mediums in China, see Brigitte Berthier, "Enfant de divination, voyageur du destin," *L'Homme* 27.101 (1987), 86-100.

literary tales; they are often either murdered or commit suicide in youth or young adulthood, and seem, in the texts, as exploited sexualized bodies, sites of transgression, and at the very least, "to lead an abnormally imperiled existence."[303] Some studies of *chigo* have suggested they are cultural figures that sacrificially absorb violence.[304] According to the colophons on some copies of the oracle record, Jishi Ōmaru 慈氏王丸 originated from Kawachi 河内 province (near Kōyasan) and his name after ordination was Chōshin 長信. He was later forced to leave Kōyasan after being involved in a violent incident, and eventually, in strange fulfillment of the fate of chigo as cultural figure, also died in some violent way. [305]

As at other large temples of the time, Kōyasan was populated by a substantial number of *chigo* who studied and served at the monastic institutions. They are not described as mediums. However, child mediums were used, in particular, in medieval Japan, for *gohō* (護法 "Dharma protectors," often related to the protection of a text and its transmission),[306] kami that often had a child-like form[307] and were thus often referred to as "Gohō dōji" (護法童子 *Gohō* infants), though adult mediums also were possessed by them. Such use of children extends much further back, however, in the esoteric ritual the *abishahō*, literally "spirit possession ritual"[308] as recorded in the previously mentioned

[303] Atkins, "Chigo in the Medieval Japanese Imagination," 966.

[304] See note above on studies by Faure and by Atkins.

[305] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 88.

[306] Especially protection of the Lotus Sutra.

[307] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 225.

[308] *Āveśa*, the Sanskrit for spirit possession, is transliterated into Japanese as *abisha* 阿尾奢.

Amoghapasa sutra. This text was available to Shingon temples, and the role of the child as mediator is shared by the Henmyōin oracular possession while the *Gohōsai* procedure for possession conforms to it. The status of such a "vessel" no doubt supported the claim of the indisputable legitimacy of the transmission.

In the *abishahō*, a child is used by an officiant as a medium for a spirit and is able to relay information about "good or evil things in the past, future, or present" in response to questions. A seventh century translation of Vajrabodhi's, *Secret Rites of the Spells of the Divine Emissary, the Immoveable One*, also involves the use of a child, with the similar claim that "when the officiant discusses matters pertaining to the past, present, or future, all questions will be answered" by the possessing spirit.[309] The interrogative aspect here is the object of induced possession, and though the oracle of Henmyōin was delivered during a state of spontaneous possession, it too involved a series of questions and answers. The commentaries on it often describe it in a way that suggests a similar scenario to that given in these very early sutras. For example, eighteenth century record of cloister heads compiled by Ihō (維寶 1687-1747), *Kongōbuji sho inge sekifu rokushū* 金剛峯寺諸院家録輯 (hereafter *Sekifu rokushū*),[310] reports that the *chigo* spoke fluidly about "deep meanings" (*shingi* 深義) of things "hard to understand" to the monks, who asked the kami about them;[311] the conversation is here called a *hōdan* 法談– a discussion about Buddhist

[309] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 207, translated from *Pi-ting shih-che t'o-lo-ni pi-mi-fa* (T.1202,12:24b).

[310] Precise date unknown. In ZSZ, Vol. 34-35.

[311] ZSZ, Vol. 34, 189.

doctrine.[312] In *Shunjū*, the *chigo* is described as revealing "things hidden and difficult, past and present."[313] It is a dialogue also implicit in *Takusenki* itself where the presentation of the oracular speech at times indicates that its (often very short) articles (*jō* 条) are answers to questions. It seems that the *chigo* was possessed by a former priest, a deceased past master, who was "carrying" the messages of the kami and had the means not only of clarifying knotty points but had the powers of prophetic omniscience as well. In this way, teachings could be conveyed. The *chigo*-borne kami requests a room be set up with a "manifestation altar" (*yōgō dan* 影向壇) especially for its future manifestations and for offerings to be made to it. Strickmann, though not in reference to this case, reports that this was indeed one way of conversing with a possessing spirit on a regular basis in East Asian Buddhist practices.

These issues: the relationship between kami, oracular possession, and doctrinal teachings; the very functions of oracles; and the significance of them all to the Chūin-ryū, producers and keepers of *Takusenki*, remain to be explored throughout the following chapters. However, it is clear that even while oracles wielded authority throughout history in Japan, they constituted a multivalent discourse that operated in quite different ways and on diverse social strata. This discourse, implicated as it is in issues of textual production and function, speech, the body, the roles of practitioners in kami and Buddha-related matters (and how these related to, even perhaps in many ways paralleled each other), social control and subversion, invites further exploration.

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[312] See Mizuhara, *Kōyasan no Chūin o meguru*, 51.

[313] *Shunjū* vol. 8 (entry for Kenchō 3/11/13), 159.

3. The connections of the Henmyō'in oracle and its text to the Chūin-ryū

The attribution to Dōhan, regardless of accuracy, is most importantly an acknowledgement of his power and leadership. Abe questions conventional claims regarding the authorship of the entire text, but his criteria for doubt largely differ from mine. He presents Dōhan's advanced age and ill health as a problem (he died the very next year); the third-person references to Dōhan in the text; and the share of attention paid to the previously-mentioned monk named Kakuson as factors that could refute the attribution of authorship to Dōhan. Kakuson's name heads the list of signatories in *Takusenki*, and there are several mentions of Kakuson's dreams (including the dream of the *honji* of the Myōjin discussed in the previous chapter), but very little is known about him. He was, however, next in line to the head priesthood of Henmyōin, though the sole evidence to support this is a brief mention in the *Sekifushū* record of the names of head priests of cloisters[314] at Kongōbuji. This gives his monk's name as Seion-bō (or perhaps Shōon-bō), and his activity as head priest as having been during the Kenji period (1275-78). Kakuson was of the Injōin-kata (Injō'in sub-branch) of the Chūin-ryū, like Ryōnin (head of Injō'in cloister, the one-time *inju* of Amanosha, and the dismissed *kengyō* of Kongōbuji (under whom Dōhan served as *shigyō-dai*), who was discussed in Chapter 1.

Still, Dohan's involvement is indisputable: he was also likely involved in the production of *Koyasan hiki*, *Nanzan yōshu*, and a number of other texts concerning Koyasan-centric teachings and the Chūin-ryū. Also, as Abe points out, there are a number of mentions of him in the text (1:7, 9, 10, 45 and 2:33, 40), which do indicate that he was a

[314] More precisely, private temples for the nobility.

force behind the creation of the work. Of the five he was likely the highest in status as *shigyōdai* and whether he was principal transcriber, editor or both/neither, his status may well have led to his attribution as author. The reasons given for the deliverance of the *takusen* also vary from one account to another, if discussed at all. The reason suggested by Yūkai, which is quoted at the beginning of this chapter—that it was to certify the rightful status of Henmyō'in monk Yūshin (another signatory of *Takusenki*)—accords with the idea that it was delivered *before the attack* on Daidenbō'in (and, thus) was not originally even related to this attack. Certainly, as I noted in the previous chapter, there is considerable indication that the opening section at least, on the attack, could have been written during the exiles and hence necessarily by someone other than the absent Dōhan. Regarding other reasons for why the oracle was necessary, and taking Yūkai's claim seriously, the term *dō sendoku* 同先徳 ("previous master of the same [cloister i.e. Henmyō'in]") in the opening lines to the *Takusenki* also provides a clue. "Previous master of the same cloister" very likely points to a monk named Kyōmitsu-bō 教密房, as indicated in the *Sekifushū* which reports that "[a]t the time of the oracle at Henmyō'in, the *on-tsukai* of Daishi Myōjin, Jishi Ō, spoke, saying "I am the previous [master] of this temple," and [he] named himself Kyōmitsu-bō. The period during which he served at this temple is unclear. His real name and other details are unknown."[315]

The chigo, Jishi Ō is said to have been possessed by this priest and in this state channeled Daishi Myōjin. Kyōmitsu was *inju* (cloister head priest) in 1127. If, as Yūkai writes in *Jitsugoshō*, the *takusen* was given specifically to legitimize the then *inju* Yūshin,

[315] ZSZ, Vol. 34, 189.

then it makes sense that the possessing agent would be a former head priest of the temple, itself (or, himself) invested in and bearing the authority, to transmit correct lineage. Other accounts of the oracle state that it was delivered in order to pass on teachings vital to confer legitimacy of the then head priest Yūshin, Kakuson's predecessor, also listed as a witness in the colophon. It seems (even without Yūkai's remarks) that the oracle took place *at* Henmyō'in, *for* the Henmyō'in priestly lineage. And indeed, the closing section strictly delimits the readership of *Takusenki* to residents of that cloister, with an exception for borrowing it: "Shōchi'in," which probably signifies Dōhan since he is referred to throughout the record by the name of his (pre-exile) residence:[316]

> This record was written out neatly, put into a transmission-certificate box [*injin-bako* 印信箱][317] and must not leave this temple [Henmyō'in]. Among the five people that added their seal, in times of doubt, they should come to this temple and have a look at it. However, Shōchi'in may send for it and have a look at it. During the days afterward, it must be sent [back] quickly to this temple [Henmyō'in].[318]

The text was absolutely to be confined to Henmyō'in. This, as I will elaborate later, is significant in the context of the fact that a special altar for Daishi Myōjin was set up here, and that a ritual called the *Go-honjiku* 御本地供, which was intimately connected to scholars entering the debates, was practiced here.

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[316] If the dating of the *Takusenki* (and the oracular possession) as 1251 is correct, Dōhan was by that time resident of Hokō'in, but was still known as "Shōchi'in".

[317] Transmission certificates with mudra and mantra (*inmyō* 印明) recorded on them.

[318] *Takusenki*, 2:51.

No other descriptions of the *takusen* incident or *Takusenki* itself directly discuss the significant detail of Yūshin's apparent legitimization (though there is significant evidence internal to the *Takusenki*, which I discuss below), and the character of the *kami* (Daishi Myōjin) is only cursorily described. Let us look more closely at Yūkai's commentary on the arson incident in the text *Ategawa*. It was clearly based on his own knowledge of *Takusenki*: "Question: "What caused the destruction of Denbō'in?" The master says: "One theory has it that there was a heretical branch. This is why it was burned down. The fire burning was caused by the Aizen Ō *naigoma*. This is seen in the record of the *takusen* [i.e *Takusenki*]." The *naigoma*, as mentioned previously, is the form of the fire ritual used for eliminating the force of transgressions in the heart/mind, not for the material or physical destruction of enemies.[319] However, Yūkai then raises his own questions about this, saying "[t]his explanation is hard to believe because Hosshō and Dōhan were the writers of *Takusenki*. They were exiled because of Denbō'in's appeal. This *takusen* occurred previous to the destruction of Denbō'in. You doubt this explanation. Yet, was the *takusen* after the destruction and, [it was then] after that, [that] Hosshō, Dohan, and the others were exiled?" This certainly makes sense if we take into account the fact that Hosshō died in exile; indeed, the opening section, as I have suggested already, might have been written during the exile. Finally he suggests that *because* Daidenbō'in was damaged, Kongōbuji monks were selected and exiled, and refers to the litigation in support of this. Regardless, he ultimately does not conclude on the order of events. Evidently, by Yūkai's time, the

[319] The "nai" (内 interior) *goma*, also known as the "ri" (理 principle) *goma* was contrasted in Shingon and Tendai with the *ge-goma* (外 exterior goma) or *ji-goma* (事 physical goma). The form is performed in the mind and is meant to extinguish delusions.

knowledge had already been lost. However, according to Yūkai, Myōken, Dōhan and Hosshō were selected specially for exile *because* of their excellence as scholars. Furthermore, and intriguingly, Dōhan and Hosshō were expelled precisely because they had been the "recorders" (*kisha* 記者) of the takusen. Moreover, Yūkai claims that it was only shortly after the destruction of Daidenbō'in, and therefore *prior* to the exiles, that the takusen was delivered. Yūkai's (albeit tentative) explanation can be used to re-evaluate that given by Abe Yasurō regarding the production process, authorship, and dating of the record. It also casts light on the circumstances and function of the takusen, which seem to have become unclear during the time that had lapsed between Dōhan and Yūkai's periods at Kōyasan. Yūkai's remarks reflect this.

Yūkai's identification of heresy within the Chūin-ryū is found not only in *Takusenki.* It is essential though, to acknowledge that his words on sects he deemed heretical were polemical; his virulent criticism and characterization of the so-called Tachikawa-ryū is a prime example, and they have been deconstructed by Hino Takuya.[320] Yūkai was likely more interested in this orthodoxy-related aspect than any other aspect simply because he was reformulating the system. The legitimacy of the transmission of mudra and mantra (which were transmitted with the oracle) as well as the teachings included in the *takusen* would necessarily have been an object of his concern. Kōyasan as an institution was, during

[320] Hino Takuya, *Creating Heresy: (Mis)representation, Fabrication, and the Tachikawa-ryū*. (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2012).

Yūkai's time, making concerted efforts to present itself as the orthodox site of Shingon practice and doctrine.[321]

In another part, however, of the same record, in the entry for the 23rd day of the tenth month of 1413, he responds to a question as to the origin of the *chūzetsu*, or "discontinuance" at/of Koyasan. Here he describes the burning down of the residential buildings of Denbō'in (he refers to it without the honorific "Dai" ("great") prefix, revealing, I think, a prejudice shared by the writers of *Takusenki* as observed in the previous chapter) as being the result of a skirmish between monks Monren and Sōtatsu, which culminated in arrows flying, and the door of a shrine being blown open by the wind. Here we find another incidence of the rhetoric of "sacred wind" that was mentioned in previous chapter, as well as the keying-in on the Daidenbō'in and Kongōbuji conflict as a threat to the institution of Kōyasan itself (*Kōya chūzetsu* 高野山中絶), which permeates *Takusenki* as well as the painting inscriptions I will examine in the next chapter. To consider Yūkai's thoughts, I want to look once more at how and why, ostensibly, the oracle occurred, according to the record itself and to later texts. *Shunjū*, the early-eighteenth century chronicle, gives an account of the incident in its entry for the 13th day of the 11th month of Kenchō 3 (1251):

> Jishi Ōmaru of Henmyō'in, a 13 year-old boy born in Koichi …[who] later took the tonsure and was called Chōshin-bō (長信房) became strange and excitable. He said he was a messenger (御使 *on-tsukai*) of [the kami] Dai-Myōjin. Quickly the five monks Kakuson 覚尊, Yūshin 祐眞, Yūshin 祐信,

[321] Such efforts had begun during the Kamakura period, but the intense focus on excising "heterodox" teachings and praxis was pronounced during Yūkai's time. In part, this was connected to its support of the Northern Dynasty (北朝 *hokuchō*), during a split in the imperial court.

> Ryūken 龍剣, and Dōhan were summoned. "I will now face and speak to you [he said]. The *inju* [院主 cloister head] quickly invited in and awaited the five monks… A kami oracle in 83 articles was given ... and difficult points were explained…The 83 articles are in a separate record and they are a secret transmission. It says in the *Henmyō'in infu* [Genealogy of the *inju*] that the child was in a strange state for two days. He said he was *inju* Kyōmitsu（教密). Quickly, Kakuson Shunryō-bō (覚尊俊良房), Yūshin Hōren-bō (祐真法蓮房), Yūshin Endai-bō (祐信円大房), Ryūken Hannya-bō (竜劔般若房), and Dōhan Kakuhon-bō (覚本房), were summoned.…[322]

According to Yūkai's commentary (far earlier than the record in *Shunjū*), the conferral of lineage teaching required to qualify Yūshin (note there are two Yūshins involved; it is 祐信円大房 to whom the teachings were given, according to Yūkai) had previously been either invalid or absent altogether - but these oracle teachings came to be included in the branch's collection of *shōgyō*. Many of Yūkai's explanations do in fact accord with statements made in *Takusenki* itself, and he refers to it in such a way that makes it reasonable to assume he had access to it. He also gives some situational information for which there are no other available sources at present. Quoted previously, Yūkai had stated: "[i]t was said that there was no *jūji* [resident caretaker] at this temple [Henmyō'in]. At the answer that the *jūji* was Yūshin, it was said [by the deity?] that one should be called a *jūji* as a result of having received the branch transmissions; and this was not so. Accordingly, Yūshin received these and called them the Oracle Teachings."[323]

I re-quote this here in order to compare it to a similar explanation attributed to Yūkai which appears in *Chūinryū inge sōjō denju roku* (中院流院家相承伝授録), a text which, as its name suggests, definitively recorded the transmissions of the "Inge sōjō," the

[322] *Shunjū*, 159.

[323] Ōyama *Chūinryū no kenkyū*, 570.

main Chuinryū groups organized by Genkai.[324] And here we find some names of the members of the lineage through whom these "oracle teachings" were passed:

> These are the teachings transmitted through the generations of Daishi, Shinzen, Mukū, Senkan. However, amid the group at Henmyō'in, these teachings were lost. And so, in Kenchō 3, the Myōjin communicated through Jishi Ōmaru and said, "Even if there is a building, there are no monks." The Elders (*shukurō*) who were the group [there] heard this and asked what it meant that there were "no monks." The Myōjin replied, saying, "There is no one who can transmit the teachings of the sect.[325]

According to this account, the teachings in question originated with "Daishi," ("great teacher"), the title that of course refers to Kōbō Daishi. This particular conversation between the Elders at Henmyō'in and the *kami* (*myōjin*) can be attested to by the content of *Takusenki* itself (though the *dialogic* manner of the speech is only implicit and the wording varies slightly). The discourse of (dis)embodied teachings and the importance of their transmission by a qualified master has been discussed already in the context of the fear of the decline of Kōyasan as a result of exile. But here, a different cause of decline is feared. One more mention in another text by Yūkai warrants introduction before we draw these together and consider the explanations of the oracle's significance. This example appears in his *Jitsugoshō*:

> This cloister [*inge*] has the Ono Sōjō Daiji [Ono branch transmitted teaching]. [Via] Hanshun, Kenkaku, Shūi, Junkan, Ninzen, Sonnen, Dōhan, and Yūshin. In this way the *kechimyaku* [lineage] was transmitted. However, when Yūdo Endaibō was *kengyō* [head priest of Kōyasan], the lineage was going to be

[324] As discussed in Chapter 1.

[325] *Chūinryū inge sōjō denju roku*, 351.

> severed, and at that time, Yōgō Myōjin delivered an oracle in the West Room of that cloister via the chigo Jishi Ōmaru … Hosshō and Dōhan witnessed the deity oracle, and inscribed their signatures, and stored [the testament] in an *injin* box.

As noted at 2:51 in the *Takusenki* (and quoted above), the text was kept in an *injin* box. Such contained transmission certificates, which would include records of transmitted mudras and mantras from masters. The mudra and mantra are still found in scattered ritual texts, which I address below, but the references here to the treatment of the oracular possession show that what was recorded was considered as legitimate as an ordinary esoteric transmission of teachings. Looking once more at a description of the event, albeit some four centuries afterward, in the 1672 *Tsūnen*, we see the chigo's speech as revelatory to the scholarly elders (*rōshuku* and *rōshi* 老宿老師): "During the Kenchō era, there was an acolyte by the name of Jishi Ōmaru at this cloister, and one day he suddenly became strange and agitated, and he said fluently and brightly to Dōhan Ajari, Kōya Myōjin is speaking through me, and he explained things one by one with depth, and into every one of the elders' questions he delved with scholarly depth leaving nothing uncovered."[326] The same text tells us that the process involved "…the things about which the elder priests were confused or had doubt [that] were queried and were extremely profoundly explicated. It was extremely mysterious."

In the *Yasan* of 1752, the deity is described as having revealed deep esoteric meanings to the elders of the mountain, and: "[u]pon inquiring about the deep meaning [of the Buddhist teachings] and the essential essence, the answer and explanation were like an

[326] *Tsūnen*, Vol. 4.

echoing voice." These records describe the kami delivering the oracle just as if it were engaged in a *mondō* with the monks, explicating difficult doctrinal matters. The *Shunju* chronicle describes the oracle occurrence as follows: "The temple head [*inju*] quickly summoned five monks. After they were seated an 83 article oracle was vocally revealed. Also, matters of the past and of the future that were dim, hidden and difficult to think about were revealed and clarified. They were made as obvious and clear as a finger pointing to a palm."

Yūkai also makes it quite clear here that the oracle was delivered for the purpose of legitimizing the position of the monk Yūshin.[327] Although this figure makes very few appearances in historical documents and little biographical information about him is available, he was certainly a person of considerable significance at Kōyasan. A member of the Chūin-ryū branch,[328] he is recorded as fifth or sixth head of Henmyō'in and in 1284 was appointed to the highest clerical post at Kōyasan, that which has been discussed as central to the Chūin-ryū claims to authority - the *kengyō* (considered the *migawari* 身代わり, or "stand-in", of founder Kūkai). And so, he did indeed become legitimized via the takusen, presumably through the means of a transmission that went all the way back to Daishi Myōjin, via a previous head of Henmyō'in, Kyōmitsu. He was succeeded in headship of the

[327] There are a few confusing points in Yūkai's explanation. Yūshin became *kengyō* in 1284, rather than at the time of the oracle, as Yūkai indicates. Possibly, the text means: "when he was going to be made *kengyō*," but the considerable period of time between the oracle and his appointment counts against this. Also, the figure connected elsewhere with the oracle is referred to here as Yūdo, but with the same monastic name, Endaibō, given in other sources to Yūshin. This is presumably a textual error.

[328] Ihō's eighteenth century *Sekifu rokushū* mentions that the Henmyō'in takusen can be found in the "old record" by Yūshin, but the content to which Ihō refers is unclear. He very likely meant *Takusenki* since Yūshin was one of the signatories.

cloister by Kakuson, a fellow oracle witness. The line was restored. Yūshin evidently also had some authoritative involvement with the site at which the mountain deities were enshrined, which is suggested by his report, noted above to the *bakufu* military government of a startling kami manifestation that had happened in the previous year at this shrine, Amanosha. It is possible that he was appointed Amano *inju* like some of his predecessors, but this requires further clarification.

The oracle—according to Yūkai—was necessary to prevent a breach in the lineage. Although Yūshin seems already to have been *jūji* of Henmyō'in, his status was deemed invalid since he had not received transmission of the "Ono Sōjō Daiji". The possession of a certain lineage teaching, in other words, overrode other considerations and was paramount to the monk's position. Moreover, statements in a number of the texts quoted above make it clear that without the transmission a monk was not even to be considered a monk *at all*, regardless of his presence in a temple and his status and practice in the monastic community. Ōyama Kōjun,[329] Kōda Yūun,[330] and Iyanaga Nobumi[331] have contributed much to the understanding of branch lineages, legitimization and heresy during this period in Shingon's history making it possible to conclude that a possible fracture in an important line/faction was being prevented. These historians have particularly focused on the Chūin-ryū branch and its sub-branches, which at this time snaked out amid a vast tangle of other branches and sub-branches. Today it is the mainstream, dominant school of Shingon

[329] Oyama, *Chūinryū no kenkyū*.

[330] Kōda Yūun 甲田宥吽, "Chūinryū no jaryū o tsutaeta hitobito 中院流の邪流を伝えた人々," *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化 135 (1981), 19-37.

[331] Iyanaga, "Secrecy, sex and apocrypha: remarks on some paradoxical phenomena."

Buddhism at Kōyasan, but its burgeoning yet contested authority during the thirteenth century indicates why the oracle was necessary: for its validation and maintenance.

Conclusion

In scholar-monk and letter-writer Shōso's *Kōyasan Okuno'in Kōhaiki* 高野興廃記[332] the following report is given:

> On the 5th of the 8th month of 1219, the *taishū* 大衆 assembled as an army and the gates of all the temples and halls were closed, and the three thousand monks[333] all together [in agreement] drank the kami [offering] water[334] and vowed that with the help of the good *kami* who protect the Dharma on this mountain—Niu and Kōya Daimyōjin—and the entourage of one hundred and twenty protective gods, Buddhas and bodhisattvas, Myōō and Tenbu etc, the three thousand monks would fight against the enemies and pray for the prosperity of Buddhist dharma.
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> "This," as Oyama states, speaks of the true attitude of the monks of that time."[335]

Not only that, but it is a description of a physically taken vow: as we will see in Chapter 5, firm *kishōmon* contracts were made with the gods, buddhas, and other power-wielding sacred beings as a means of community control. The conceptualization seen here of the role of the kami as protecting the Dharma is certainly characteristic of that found in *Takusenki* as well. Although Kuroda Toshio has asserted that role of the kami developed from that of

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[332] Shōso, *Kōyasan Okuno'in Kōhaiki* 高野山奥院興廃記 in ZGR 28.

[333] "Three thousand" is often given in Kōyasan-related documents to signify "all", i.e. the entire community.

[334] *Jinzui* (神水). This may mean either water that had been previously offered to the kami, or water believed to have sacred power.

[335] Oyama, *Chūinryū no kenkyū*, 319.

protection to that of synthesis with buddhist deities,[336] it also developed from that of beings that are saved and protect to those that instruct, transmit teachings, discipline, and punish. Sato Hiroo, Lisa Kochinski, and others have discussed the typology of kami. In the above report, both protective and punishing roles are indicated, and I show that the new menacing character that Kuroda claims was a new development is well represented in *Takusenki*, various contemporary *kishōmon* contracts, prayer rites, and, as discussed, the equation of Niu and Kōya Myōjin to Fudō and Aizen who had became popular in the thirteenth century for enemy-expelling rituals.

In fact, another dispute, the "Sacred Horse Dispute" (*Shinme sōron*) involving Kongōbuji, Daidenbō'in, and the kami, was taking place at around the same time, and it resulted once more in the exertion of the former's power over encroaching threats. These threats included the Sakanoue clan and their connection to the Amano shrine, and involved Daidenbō'in, who became allied with that clan. Moreover, following on from this, an examination of the leadership of Kōyasan during the mid-thirteenth century, shows the Chūin-ryū's domination and their efforts to maintain it. It also forefronts the link between the Chūin-ryū and the *inju* position at Amanosha (which had begun with Gyōsho Shōnin) - and the Chūin-ryū domination of which was cemented by the victory of Kongōbuji in the "Sacred Horse Dispute".[337]

The main objective of this chapter, in tandem with the previous one, was to examine primary texts in order to show the links between Kongōbuji's status and its conflicts with

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[336] Kuroda Toshio, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7.1 (1981), 1-21, 9.

[337] Phillip Garrett, "Crime on the Estates: Justice and Politics in the Kōyasan Domain," 86.

Daidenbō'in, the cloister famed for a scholarship that was the source of its prestige. I also show that *Takusenki* was deeply and intimately concerned with (and in many ways immediately responsive to) these matters in a particular, strategizing fashion, and to explain the ways in which the incident was viewed through the eyes of two of the most acclaimed scholar monks in Shingon history, Dōhan (or his followers) and Yūkai, who were also involved in and concerned with crucial issues of lineage legitimacy. I see the two concerns (scholarly prestige and lineage legitimacy), and the rivalry over them, as linked. This link allows us to move into an examination of how the kami and deceased patriarchs as teachers were also involved in such matters of lineage legitimacy.

I interpret *Takusenki* as a text produced mid- or post-conflict for settling and binding together the community following its inter-temple disputes. Because it includes an account of the 1242-43 incidents which, as noted, has been ignored in the historical studies of them, I begin with an historical account of the troubles (introducing the figures of Kōyasan who were directly involved in the event (some of whom were involved too in the production of the text) and I followed this with an analysis of *Takusenki* narrative. I considered the purpose for which the account was produced, in part by presenting evidence that tentatively moves identification of the author away from Dōhan; rather it is possible to suggest that it was written by someone who was at Kōyasan during the absence of the exiles. Based on this alternative theory of production, I suggest that the text's significance is partly in its attempt to provide a sacred interpretation of human violence within a community in order to consolidate it in the aftermath of destruction and unrest. And whether Dōhan was author or not, the text connects him directly with the incident, reflects the period of unrest, and is an example of Kongōbuji's strategies for legitimizing (violent)

acts, and for legitimizing its claim to superior position among the institutions at Kōyasan. These aspects make it an invaluable historical source.

Additionally, and for the broader purpose of this dissertation, it is an example of how an oracle can be a vehicle for asserting power and it displays via exploration of the reasons for exile, alarm regarding the loss of the authentic teachings of Kōbō Daishi; the double-sided potential for them to spread elsewhere; the importance of the human over text as the vehicle of teachings (emphasized also in the "Homesick spirits" letter by fellow Kakukai followers (like Dōhan and Hosshō), Shōso and Shinben, and in later passages in *Takusenki*). These anxieties indicate the allegiance to Kōbō Daishi (indeed, coinciding with the burgeoning interest of the time in "Kūkai studies" and to "original teachings" - and they provide the backdrop for understanding the development of debate rituals.

CHAPTER 5

The Kongōbuji Kami Mandala: Paintings of *Kami*, the Discourse of Decline, and the Legitimation of the Chūinryū Lineage

1. *Narrative sources*
2. *The Kariba inscriptions: The absent patriarch, revival, and protection*
3. *The Niu inscriptions: On remaining at Kōyasan, and reaching the Pure Land of Maitreya*

Introduction

Visual culture, in the form of paintings, also helped to legitimize the Chūin-ryū faction and, like the Daishi Myōjin oracle, it was used to preserve important teachings deemed at risk of being lost. They chose to use paintings of kami, sometimes accompanied by Kōbō Daishi, rather than buddhas, bodhisattvas, or Myōō, to perform this task – just as they had used a patriarch-kami oracle in *Takusenki*. Several fine paintings produced at Kōyasan from the late Kamakura to the Muromachi periods were likely made for the purpose, and they functioned by linking lineage figures to kami. These paintings have up until now been regarded as simply depictions of kami that reflect the textualized origin stories (*engi*) of Kōyasan. However, by examining the socio-historical context in which they were produced, including figures and ideologies of the specific lineage to which their iconography and inscriptions allude, a much fuller and more specific understanding of them is possible. This

understanding is attained through inter-textual and inter-visual analyses. The paintings were produced to hold together an unstable community, and they were used, as part of this consolidation, in connection with prestigious scholarly debates and the rites related to them. They stamped the Chūin-ryū with the sacred blessings of the kami, with scholarly legitimacy, and confirmed their leadership of the mountain community. These qualifications were inextricably linked by the ideology of Kōbō Daishi's "original" and "true" teachings, with which they had been bequeathed, and were obligated to continue to transmit along a straight and uncorrupted line.

Among the paintings produced was a pair of paintings of Niu Myōjin and Kōya Myōjin (Fig. 6), the former depicted as a court woman and the latter as a hunter and known as "Kariba Myōjin."[338] This diptych was copied multiple times, and a number of iconographically unusual images depicting Kōbō Daishi encountering Kariba Myōjin were also made between the Muromachi and Edo periods (Figs. 61-d). During this period, too, other well-known kami such as Amaterasu and Kasuga Myōjin began to join the group in formations that reflect Kōyasan's participation with other powerful sites and forms of worship. A remarkable and unusual depiction of Kōbō Daishi with Niu and Kōya Myōjin, which included realistic portrayals of the landscapes specifically related to each of the kami, was also introduced - the so-called *Mondōkō zu* (問答講図 Fig. 7). The medieval paintings

[338] I will refer to this as the "the Kongōbuji diptych" to distinguish it from others depicting the kami. This diptych is kept as part of the Kongōbuji collection at Kōyasan's Reihōkan museum, and its origins are unknown. The paintings are in relatively good condition, and have been designated as Important Cultural Properties by the governmental Agency for Cultural Affairs. Kariba Myōjin is also known as Kōya Myōjin but I will refer to him by Kariba in discussing this painting and other sources in which he is described as having the appearance of a hunter. The diptych is printed and discussed in the many publications since it is representative of the visual culture of the mountain kami at Kōyasan. Among others, see Victor Harris, *Shintō: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, 170-171 and *Sangaku Shugen* 42 (2009), 170-171.

of such subjects supported the lineage authority of the Chūin-ryū. They were also linked to the development and understanding of scholarship. This is discernible both in the ways they presented the purported origins of their iconography, which were based around a discourse of mystical perception by their valued members, and is found in their portrayals of interactions between kami and founder, and kami with other monks, which re-confirmed their rights to land, along with the kami concern for their scholarly skills.

Land ownership was an issue of major contestation for Kōyasan in the medieval period related to lineage rivalry and to power, but I emphasized that scholarship was also related to these things in Chapter 2 (which discussed conflict and exile). Close examination of the paintings shows that the very same group of scholastic Chūin-ryū figures encountered in that chapter (including both those who engaged in conflict with Daidenbō'in and those who dealt with its consequences), along with prominent past members of the lineage to which they cleaved, was connected to the production, use, content, and transmission of these paintings. As such, the paintings were a visual means in volatile times of preserving the teachings and the memory of the original teachers of them: another form with the same function played by the Henmyō'in oracle. The paintings' visual content and the textual inscriptions on some of them conveyed some of the most important beliefs and instructions for the community, representative of their time, place, and function. They also represented (and, in the case of the inscriptions, replicated) oral contracts and instructions deemed to have been delivered from kami to founder and from kami to later revivers of—or key figures at—the temple complex, which the Chūin-ryū emphasized in their claims to power. In other words, the Chūin-ryū attempted through their paintings to draw a direct line

between the founder Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi), the kami, and the founders and key members of their group.

In this sense, the paintings constituted a simplified visual genealogy (*kechimyaku* 血脈), which complemented textual genealogies. The latter had become requisite in the medieval period for organizing what had become a labyrinthine structure of esoteric transmissions, often resulting in off-shoot sectarian branches. The genealogy could be shown in visual materials and "re-enacted" through material copies distributed throughout the Kongōbuji/Chūin-ryū community, and through intangible repeated ritual procedures. These were as much a way of instilling history as a means of overcoming it, of curtailing change. It repeatedly drew it into the present moment, especially at particular times, which I will identify further on as having been periods of memorial for ancestors. In fact, this instating of the past into present, this overcoming of history, is precisely what possession by past masters, recounted in the previous chapters, could achieve: the past could constantly be (the) present. Conventionally, the paintings I consider here have been primarily explained as representations of the "opening of the mountain," and, reductively perhaps, as artistic representations of textual descriptions of the event. But they have also been vaguely, speculatively, connected to scholarship and doctrinal debates. This connection has never been made clear, and any relationship between these two explanations has not been recognized either. And so, in this section as a whole, I suggest a way to clarify the debate connection and propose the fundamental and logical link between presentation of the origins of the mountain community and the debate rituals. That link was genealogy, or lineage. Daidenbō'in was famed for its scholarship and debate culture and Chūin-ryū monks were striving to cultivate their own, especially around figures like Dōhan and later,

Yūkai. The paintings can be linked with the project of legitimization of the Chūin-ryū lineage because scholarship as based on the "true" teachings of the founder was central to it and because these doctrinal teachings were transmitted, in part, via the kami who were by now considered authorities on it.

All the kami paintings I consider (except the so-called *Mondōkō zu*) have been described in historical documents, both hagiographical and records of conversations between master and deshi, as having been based on the appearance of deities as they instructed monks in doctrine, and some are inscribed with oracular instructions. I will give here information about and analyses of these visual works, and, instead of presenting their meaning as completely limited to the *engi* (a temple community's account of its origins),[339] I will place them in their historical institutional context. The precise ties they have with the Chūin-ryū figures and its lineage legitimacy project will be further elucidated in Chapter 7. But these figures were active in the volatile conflicts, and the years following, especially the following generation who sought to revive the scholarship after the 13th century upheavals, and Yūkai's re-systematization, all of which extended the scholarly project, whilst parsing out lineages and attempting to excise heretical teachings. This approach draws attention to the iconographical and kami-worship related theories that emerged from the Chūin-ryū scholar-monk community at Kōyasan at the time, particularly those produced by Dōhan and figures closely related to him. These included, significantly, Shinken (the monk who carried on the Kongobuji-side scholarship tradition after the exiles cleared the scholar community of its leaders), Shōso who penned a *Myōjin kōshiki*, and his maternal

[339] Heather Blair and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi caution, though, against grouping tales of sacred origins under one umbrella term (here, "engi") since their variety defies easy categorization. "Engi: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 42.1 (2015).

brother, Shinnichi. In doing so, my approach is an attempt to illuminate the specific socio-historical contexts, and the intricate lineage formations and their distinctive re-shapings of doctrine, which required the management of the image and meanings of the kami rather than identifying the commonly cited *engi* as sole and stable source of function and iconography.

1. Narrative Sources

Two main textual narratives of the Heian periods found in the *Kongōbuji konryū shugyō engi* and the *Konjaku Monogatari* tend to dominate discussions of both the visual representations of the kami in the form of paintings (*shin'ei* 神影), as well as popular and scholarly understandings of kami worship at Kōyasan in general, regardless of the specific socio-historical context in which they emerged. These narratives are related to each other, and are concerned with the resources of the mountain terrain and its numinous inhabitants. The names generally used for the protective kami of the Kōyasan temple community—Niu, "cinnabar production" and Kariba, "hunting place"—clearly indicate their connection to the properties and utilization of the land. For at least part of its history Kōyasan was a site of significance for cinnabar and mercury mining, and for hunting. The skills required for mining the mineral ores may have once been the technological province of immigrants from kingdoms on the continent (parts of modern Korea), suggesting a continental origin for the fecund deity. Such resources have themselves long been exhausted, and intimations of the kami's possible foreign origins have gained little traction in either scholarly and

popular discussion.[340] Hyōtani (2006) speculates that Kūkai selected the site in order, specifically, to procure the mercury required for statuary production, but there is no evidence to support this.[341] Cinnabar shrines devoted to kami with the same name can be found all over the Japanese isles, as an extensive survey conducted by Matsuda[342] shows,[343] and the use of the mineral color is standard in shrines. However, the shrine (Amanosha) devoted to the kami in question, and which also enshrines Kariba and some other kami, has occupied a prominent place within the Shingon school's practices, beliefs, and history since a section of land is said to have been conferred upon Kōbō Daishi when its ruling female kami appeared to him. The territory included the site upon which a monastic community and its infrastructure could be created but it also included land beyond that was circumscribed "pure" territory (*kekkai*) for the purpose of building such a community, and these provided a further variety of resources—and thus funds—for the community.

The male hunter-god played a similarly crucial part in bringing founder to site. As his occupation required familiarity with dangerous mountain terrain he was able to direct the monk toward a plain-like area (hence the name "Kōya": "high plain") ideal for the construction of a complex of meditation halls, pagodas, and lodgings. As mentioned, such

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[340] The reasons for this include a lack of material documentation to support the notion, (though there are oral claims to it, but those who speak of it are elderly members of the community – see Matsuda Hisao 松田壽夫, *Niu no kenkyū: rekishichiri gaku kara mita Nihon no suigin* 丹生の研究～歴史地理学から見た日本の水銀, (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu 早稲田大学出版部, 1970). The uneasy ongoing political relationship between Japan and Korea, particularly following the latter's colonization by the former in the mid-twentieth century, may also account for the disregard of the idea. It remains on the level of speculation.

[341] Hyōtani, "Ninnaji no Amanosha shihai."

[342] Matsuda, *Niu no kenkyū*.

[343] The percentages of mercury in the soil in various sites are given by Hyōtani, "Ninnaji no Amanosha shihai," 33-4.

narratives are found in the *Kongōbuji konryū shugyō engi* dated to 968,[344] (I will refer to this as *Shugyō engi* below), and several other works of the same period that relay legends about Kūkai, as well as the later *Konjaku monogatarishū* (今昔物語集 Tales of Times now Past) (abbreviated below to *Konjaku*) which is dated to the early twelfth century. The *Shugyō engi* and the *Konjaku* tale are considered to have provided the iconographical basis of the depictions of the hunter-god, Kariba Myōjin. Although this god's representation clearly reflects his function and the resources with which he is related (knowledge of terrain), Niu Myōjin's does not reflect her name (i.e. the minerals it denotes), and the iconography of the former soon diverges dramatically from one connected to hunting, while that of the latter develops in certain ways too.[345] According to the above-mentioned foundation narrative *Shugyō engi*, and the likely contemporaneous twelfth century tale collection *Konjaku Monogatari shū (Tales of Times Now Past),* Kōya Myōjin appeared to

[344] NKBT vol. 24,105-6. Translated by Marion Ury, *Tales of Times Now Past: Sixty-Two Stories from a Medieval Japanese Collection*, (Berkeley, L.A. and London: University of California Press, 1979). The same basic *engi* is found in the *Sakuteiki* 作庭記 garden manual of the mid-Heian period (thought to be by Tachibana no Toshitsuna), the *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書, *Kōbō Daishi den* 弘法大師伝, and the *Honchō kōsō den* 本朝高僧伝. The date of Kōhō 5 (or Anwa 1) (968) is given in the *okugaki*, but the date this engi was written has yet to be conclusively established. It is thought that the monk Ninkai 仁海 was the author. Gorai Shigeru and Abe Yasurō both date it to the beginning of the twelfth century. Neither Kariba Myōjin nor Niu Myōjin appear in the oldest known record of Kūkai, the *Kūkai sotsuden* 空海卒伝 in the Shoku Nihon Koki 続日本後記 (completed in 869) (in scroll 4, record for 3/25, Jowa 2 (835)) nor the *Zōdai Sōjō Kūkai wajō denki* 贈大僧正空海和上伝記; all in which we might expect to find mentions. The first mention of a kami named "Niu" is found in the ninth century *Kūkai sōzu den* 空海僧都伝 and that of Kariba Myōjin is first found in the above mentioned *Shugyō engi* (together here with Niu Myōjin).

[345] Analysis of what is taken to be the "standard" iconography presents problems regarding its relationship to the temple origin account (*engi*) and other similar narratives. While these dominant narratives, which are at least skeletally shared in some form or other with many other accounts of "amalgamated" or "syncretic" Buddhist-Shinto sites were maintained for reasons to do with the Kongōbuji's claims of legal ownership of the site, the ways the kami were envisioned, depicted, and worshipped were also influenced by myriad non-canonical, sect-specific doctrinal Buddhist/Shinto theories; changing socio-political circumstances; and human relationships to the land.

Kūkai on his way to Kōyasan in search of a space to establish his monastic center. This male figure in hunter's garb and accompanied by two dogs guided him. Niu Myōjin, the *kami* of the mountain, subsequently bestowed the land upon him and devoted herself to the soteriological powers of Buddhism. The narrative is broadly in keeping with that of the reasoning generically given by temple *engi* for the construction and the incorporation of local kami. Among others, Abe, Gorai, Hinonishi, Lindsay, Londo, and Tanabe[346] have explored the significance of this narrative from various angles. It may have reflected negotiations between Kūkai and the local clans already resident on the land, especially the powerful Sakanoue clan. Its backdrop may also be the activities of Kōyasan head Gashin and the temple community during their tenure at Amanosha as a safe haven after a 10th century fire had displaced them from their original dwelling and places of worship.

Gorai points out that though the trio of figures in it, which he calls *sanshin sanyō* 山神山容 (three deities, three aspects), a mountain deity, a layman leader of the kami, and a monk, is characteristic of representations of Shugendō mountains. Kariba Myōjin was possibly a figure key to the *gyōnin* component of Kōyasan's population, originally participants in mountain worship there before Kūkai's arrival.[347] Matsuda (1970) has proposed a connection between Niu Myōjin and the mercury and cinnabar resources. While the idea that the "Daoist" value of these materials drew Kūkai to the site or the notion that they constituted an economic resource for him, and precious material for icons, is

[346] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 52-59; Gorai, "Shugendo Lore"; Hinonishi, "Sangaku reijō ni matsurareru kami to hotoke: toku ni Kōyasan no baai"; Lindsay, *Pilgrimage to the Sacred Traces of Kōyasan*; Londo, *The Other Mountain*; George Tanabe, "The Founding of Mt. Kōya and Kūkai's Eternal Meditation," in George Tanabe ed., *Religions of Japan in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999): 354-59.

[347] Gorai "Shugendo Lore," 123-25.

tantalizing, there is little concrete evidence to support these theories.

The *Shugyō engi* was influential in the medieval period and variously utilized as a literary template, a source of iconography and even a legal document since it listed the precise span of land bestowed upon Kūkai. Another related collection of documents was the *Goshuin-engi* (御朱印縁起lit. "*Hand-printed origin story"*)[348] dated to between the tenth and twelfth centuries. This cluster of apocryphal documents - maps, notes attributed to Kūkai, ministerial edicts and such – seems to have been utilized by the Kongōbuji faction to confirm and reinstate the sacred inviolability of the land.[349] New *engi* of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods discussed by Abe[350] presented a plethora of new claims too about the origins of Kōyasan, of the history and nature of Kōbō Daishi, the significance of the land, and the kami.

Here, I will examine the Kongōbuji diptych, beginning with Kariba Myōjin before turning to the partnering Niu Myōjin. It is one of the oldest depictions of the two kami and it yields a trove of information on the ideologies of the time. It is also linked, as we will see, to the previously discussed *Takusenki*. The matching sizes (h.79 cm x w.39.5 cm) and corresponding styles and compositions of the two paintings in the Kongōbuji diptych confirm they were made as a pair. They are likely be the original (*funpon*) of later copies of the image; the silk-weave indicates the age, and copies close in age are distinguished as

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[348] KDDZ 1, 1-4.

[349] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 8-14; Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀, "Kōyasan goshuin engi ni tsuite 高野山御手印縁起について." In *Zoku Kamakura Bukkyō no Kenkyū* 続鎌倉仏教の研究. (Tokyo: Heirakuji shoten 平楽寺書店, 1966): 482-498.; Fröhlich *Rulers, Peasants and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Japan*; S. Wada, "Kōyasan no rekishi to shinkō" in Y. Matsunaga et al. (eds.), *Kōyasan, sono rekishi to bunka* (Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1984): 159-250.

[350] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*.

such by imprecision of detail.[351] The appearance of Kariba Myōjin is based on the *engi* account of his *sonei* (尊影; lit. "honorable shadow") to Kūkai. An 18th century text attributes the "copying" (写しとゝめさせ給ふ) to Kūkai, and says the *shinei* (神影) painting is kept at Miroku-in at Kōyasan.[352] Certainly such attributions are not uncommon, pan-sect; the icon most famously linked with Kukai in this way is Hachiman.

Kariba Myōjin wears a *nae-eboshi* floppy hat, a mossy blue-green short-sleeved robe (*kosode*), *yono-bakama* knee-length trousers, and *waraji* straw sandals. Conforming to the typical image of a mountain hunter he has muscular limbs, holds a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other, and is accompanied by two dogs – one black and one white. Similarly-attired hunters appear in paintings associated with Yoshino 吉野 and Kankōji 関興寺. The *engi-e* of the latter, also first made in the late Kamakura period, shows a hunter wearing a blue upper garment, brown *hakama* and a small black hat, accompanied by three dogs, black, white and beige-pink. In one scene, by his side, sits a woman in courtly attire, similar to the depiction of Niu Myōjin in this diptych.[353] Indeed, the hunter (as we might expect) appears in numerous narratives about mountain asceticism (*sangaku shugen*), a subject taken up by Yanagida Kunio 柳田國男in his Nativist ethnology *Nochi kari kotoba no ki*,[354] and re-examined by Nelly Naumann. The attire of Kariba Myōjin in the painting is,

[351] The imprecise folds, for example, in the clothing of the Ryukoin Kariba Myōjin are an indication it is a copy.

[352] *Yasan myōreiki*, 14.

[353] See images of the "*Kankōji engi-e,"* in *Prayers to Water* (*Mizu: Shinpi no katachi* 水〜神秘のかたち), ed. Suntory Museum of Art (catalogue), (Tokyo: Suntory Museum of Art, 2015).

[354] Yanagida Kunio 柳田國男, *Nochi kari kotoba no ki* 後狩詞記, (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nihonsha 實業之日本社, 1951).

as mentioned above, attributed to his description in *Shugyō engi* and *Konjaku*. In the former, the following passage appears:

> In Uchi county of Yamato province he [Kōbō Daishi] met a hunter, red in color and eight *shaku* tall, wearing a bluish robe and high clogs. He was armed with a bow and arrows, and had with him one large and one small black dog. When he saw [Kōbō Daishi] pass by he questioned him. [Kōbō Daishi] hesitantly asked him who he was. The hunter replied, "I am the dog-keeper of the Southern Mountains, and I rule a vast stretch of these mountains. In my domain there is a remote plateau where many wonders occur…"[355] The depiction aligns closely, though, as noted, with the conventions of depictions of hunters found elsewhere; text and art probably had a mutually influential relationship.

Wada and Gorai both propose that the hunter is a representative of the Shugenja who inhabited the mountain prior to the establishment of Kūkai's complex.[356] Gorai asserts that these inhabitants had worshipped Niu and that they in turn had become deified.[357] According to the compilation *Nanzanki*[358] 南山記 attributed to Ryōin 良印 (? - c.1238), Kōbō Daishi had constructed a shrine for "Kōya Myōjin" as the land deity (地主神 *jinushi no kami*) on the first day of the fifth month, 817 before, as the *Niu Kōya Shisha Myōjin Yuraiki* (丹生高野明神由来記) relates, deifying the "Dog keeper of the Southern Mountains" (*Nanzan no inukai* 南山の犬飼), current occupant of the territory, as Kariba Myōjin.[359] As Wada and others have pointed out, Kariba surely represents the original

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[355] Gorai, "Shugendo Lore".

[356] Wada "Kōyasan no rekishi to shinkō," 84-109.

[357] Gorai, "Shugendo Lore."

[358] "Nanzan" (Southern mountain) was, as previously noted, another name for Kōyasan.

[359] *Sangaku Shinkō to Kōyasan*, 21.

occupants of the mountain: the hunters. Gorai has also suggested that Niu Myōjin was the kami worshipped by these hunters, as the mountain deity. The bestowal of land by Niu to Kūkai may well represent Kūkai's success in making the Amano shrine a *chinjū* (鎮守 protective shrine) for Kōyasan in order to control the mountain land, though the link between Amano shrine and Kongōbuji seems far more likely to have been active from a little later – at the time of Shinzen 真然, Kūkai's direct follower. Wada points out that neither *engi* nor kami appear earlier than this, and explains that both emerge in the context of Shinzen's efforts to acquire the Hanazono 花園 estate and the negotiations with residents these efforts required. References to the kami in Kūkai's time are found in the *Seireishū* 性靈集 (sometimes pronounced "*Shōryōshū*") collection of documents related to the founder, but they are not referred to as Niu and Kōya (or Kariba) but rather as "all the kami of earth and heaven." See, for such references, the *Kōya shishi keibyakumon* 高野四至敬白文 and the *Kōya konryū sho kekkaiji keibyaku mon* 高野建立初結界時敬白文, both in the *Seireshū*:[360] these rites are thought to have taken place in 818 or 819. Even in the *Kūkai sotsuden* 空海卒伝 and the *Wajō denki* 和上傳記, biographical records written after Kūkai's passing, there are no mentions of Niu or Kōya/Kariba Myōjin. In fact, the first appearance—but only of Niu Myōjin—is in the biography (or hagiography) *Kūkai sōzu den* 空海僧都傳,[361] where she is depicted not only as a land-bestowing kami but a swamp deity. The two appear together for the first time in the *Shugyō engi*. Grapard suggests that the

[360] KBCZ Vol. 3, texts no. 99 and no. 100. See translations and essay by David L. Gardiner, "The Consecration of the Monastic Compound at Mount Koya by Kūkai," in David White, ed. *Tantra in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 119-130.

[361] A ninth century text (dated tentatively to 835).

commonality of hunter images in *engi* images and narratives of Buddhist religious complexes in mountainous areas has to do with techniques used to convert hunters from what were from a perceptual point of view unethical (life-taking) practice and livelihood. The "almost ubiquitous presence of hunters in medieval legends narrating the origins of mountain sites of cult" may be in part explained by the Buddhist prohibition against taking life that was "used to convert hunters and make them change their occupation."[362] There is no evidence of this kind of conversion at Kōyasan, and the practice of "conversion" may be inapplicable and anachronistic in relation to Shingon of the Heian and medieval periods. In fact, a rite for hunters which involved the worship of Kariba Myōjin was actively performed in the 17th century, likely dating to an earlier period, in the area of Amanosha. The hunter seems to be a motif shared with other similarly located sites, that reflects a drawing in of the people who worked the mountains at the time of its establishment and that connected to Shugenja worship practices.

In any case, this explains why the deified Kariba Myōjin has been frequently considered a human ancestor of the earlier hunter inhabitants of the mountain land. It might be noted that this interpretation can account for the common idea that Niu and Koya Myōjin are linked in a mother-and-son relationship, mentioned in sources ranging from the *Goyuigo* to the writings of Yūkai to the *Fudoki*. In such a scheme, in order for the land to be bestowed to the newcomer, Kūkai must be introduced by Kariba, who works and knows the mountain, to his mother, the mountain itself. He is indeed led to her by Kariba. According to Gorai Shigeru's theory, Shugendō mountains shared a paradigm of three

[362] Grapard, *Mountain Mandalas*, 61.

figures (*sanyō sanshin* 山容山神), one of whom was the mountain practitioner who worshipped the mountain deity and guided the opener monk, and for Gorai, *Shugyō engi* exemplified this kind of thought. Gorai also proposed that the *sanyō sanshin* model underlay the triadic arrangement seen in the *Mondō-kō zu* (Fig. 7). Furthermore, Gorai claims that the *engi* was written to legitimize the position of the *gyōnin* "worker monks" at Kongōbuji, represented by Kariba Myōjin. However, the *Mondō-kō zu* and other similar triads do not show this kami with the appearance of Kariba Myōjin, relation of the *gyōnin* (except in images showing only Kariba and Kōbō Daishi); rather he is represented as an aristocrat. I agree with the connection Gorai makes between Shugendō and Kariba Myōjin but the dissonant iconography is a problem I will address, and that, in fact, resolves if the link between Shugendo and scholarship is considered. While I will consider the Niu Myōjin image in detail in the following section, her link with Shugendō should be noted here, not least because, as discussed later, Shugendō was linked to scholarship through the common connection in these mountain gods as well as scholarship-related rites that are Shugendō-like or incorporated into Shugendō routes. She is presented as a courtly woman seated on a tatami mat with long black hair and *junihito-e* robes in conformity with portrayals of female kami in both sculpted and painted form as court ladies. The female kami in the Hachiman mandala of Iwashimizu Hachimangu Hakkakuin[363] is similarly depicted. But just as there is similar hunter imagery of Kariba Myōjin in paintings of the Yoshino kami, there are very

[363] At Tokugawa bijutsukan 徳川美術館. See Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, *Honji suijaku* 本地垂迹, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館 1974), 260.

strong commonalities here with Mikomori Myōjin, also central to the Yoshino area.[364] The front-facing depiction of Niu Myōjin held by the Honolulu museum[365] is remarkably similar to that of Mikomori Myōjin. Both Yoshino and Kōyasan were major strongholds of Shugendo and are geographically close, so the similarities are unsurprising. There is a relationship between Shugendo and scholarship, which will unfold as this analysis proceeds. Furthermore, on a more practical level, it seems that Kōyasan did not have its own painting workshop (*edokoro*) and it likely ordered paintings from a studio in Nara. These may well have been produced by the workshop that made the Yoshino pieces, accounting for the similarities with depictions of Yoshino kami.

Other details in the paintings diverge from those of the engi. The sliding panels (*fusuma shoji*) behind the Kongōbuji Niu Myōjin are painted in the Yamato-e style: a so-called *sansui-zu* (山水図), in the upper central space is depicted a sandy shore and birds in flight. With orbs in the central upper background of both paintings, they also appear as *jitsugetsu-zu* (sun-moon paintings). These are moons, however, and they enclose the Siddham (*bonji*) "seed-syllable" (*shūji*) that represents the *honji* "ground" of this kami according to the (originally Tendai) doctrine *honji-suijaku* analogic of the Shingon school during this period. Kariba Myōjin with the *ban* syllable is equated with the Kongō (diamond) aspect of Dainichi Nyōrai, and Niu with the *a-ku* syllable, the Taizō (womb) aspect. The progenitor of Shingon and the Dharma body is Dainichi Nyorai, and the

[364] Both the Daiwa bunkekan 大和文華館 and the Fujioka 藤岡 collection Mikomori Myōjin paintings exhibit close stylistic and formal similarities with the Kongobuji painting. These are pictured in Osaka shi bijutsukan 大阪市美術館 ed. *Inori no michi: Yoshino, Kumano, Koya no meihō: Kii sanchi no reijō to sankeidō* 祈りの道～吉野・熊野・高野の名宝紀伊山地の霊場と参詣道, (Osaka: Mainichi shinbunsha, 2004), 155.

[365] See Kōyasan Reihōkan ed., *Sacred Treasures of Mount Kōya*.

Ryōbukai [Two Worlds] mandala is comprised of the two aspects of Dainichi. As such, here, the two kami together make up/express these two aspects - of wisdom (*chie* 智慧) and compassion (*jihi* 慈悲): the two parts comprising the entirety of the Ryōbukai mandala. In fact, one can say that these are mandalas; Japan developed a vast variety of this type of ritual tool, especially in painted form. Kadoya has pointed out that variations in the depiction of the kami in engi and paintings are reflective of changes concerning Kongōbuji's relationship to the land:[366] indeed there is great variation, but the *honji-suijaku* relationship expressed here is not found in the *Shugyō engi* or *Konjaku*. In Kuroda's succinct explanation: "According to this theory, the kami are simply another form of the Buddha, and their form, condition, authority and activity are nothing but the form and the acts by which the Buddha teaches, guides, and saves human beings."[367] A work on the Ryōbu ("Two Worlds" i.e. the two Diamond and Womb aspects of the mandala) Shinto of Shingon Buddhism, the late Heian/early Kamakura *Nakatomi no harai kunge* (*Exposition of the Ritual of Purification*), expresses the Buddha-kami relationship this way: "The Buddha assumes a state in which kami and Buddha are not two different things but are absolutely identical. The Buddha constantly confers his mark (*suijaku*) on Shinto."[368]

However, *honji-suijaku* relations "often developed in response to or together with developments in the economic realm, namely the absorption of Shinto shrines and their

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[366] Kadoya, "Niutsuhime shōkō," 1991.

[367] Kuroda Toshio (trans. James C. Dobbins and Suzanne Gay), "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religions," in *Religions of Japan in Practice*, ed. George Joji Tanabe (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 451-467, 461 (originally published in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 7.1 (1981), 1-21.

[368] Kuroda, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religions," 459.

lands into the large Buddhist-Shinto institutional complexes. Thus, doctrine often rationalized and justified economic developments, and, at the same time, helped to make those developments possible."[369] The *bonji*, making these depictions mandalas, though, do show a full incorporation of kami into the wider religious discourse of *honji-suijaku*.

The iconographies of the kami and the seed-syllables of the Kongōbuji diptych, along with their inscriptions reveal several of the co-existing doctrinal positions on the kami. They themselves realize they are in a world of samsara and transmigration, and desire release and salvation through Buddhist teachings. They protect Buddhism, and they are manifestations of the Buddha for the purpose of saving others. The first ideas were current in the late eighth and early ninth centuries[370] and are indicated in the *engi*, but the seed-syllables are indicative of a later idea of manifestation; again, we cannot look to the *engi* for a complete understanding of the iconography of these paintings. In spite of the incorporation of Kōyasan's kami into a wider, shared theory, the *honji-suijaku* affiliations also took on specific Kōyasan meanings as Kōyasan monks attempted to systematize everything into the Ryōbu model including sacred entities such as Myōō or patriarchal figures, places, buildings, animals, inanimate objects - and practices and religious concepts that were ostensibly distinct from Shingon ones, such as those of Pure Lands (*jōdo*). This is an important issue that concerned Kōyasan as an independent site trying to organize itself and establish itself in a wider context. Thus, it is important to interpret the kami as they appear in Shingon text and image according to these systematizing, analogic theories

[369] McMullin, "Historical and Historiographical Issues in the Study of Pre-Modern Japanese Religions," 10.

[370] Kuroda, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religions," 458.

because kami are also systematized in this way. In fact, the inscriptions on the paintings are indicative of this need to incorporate the kami into a wider religious discourse, but before turning to these, it will be useful to consider the *honji-suijaku* affiliations of Kōyasan kami during the late Kamakura period, and particularly those found in Chūinryū texts. *Kōya kuketsu* 高野口決, as a Chūinryū text of the mid to late thirteenth century, contemporaneous with the *Takusenki* and the world it presents, provides an explanation of the *honji-suijaku* of the kami enshrined opposite the Sannōin (which was used for debates, among other things) roughly contemporaneous with the likely date of production of the painting:

> 1. The three shrines at Sannoin.
> North: The sanctuary of Niu. In the material form of a woman. Honji: the Dainichi of the Womb World. Mother.
> South: The sanctuary of Kōya. In the material form of an ordinary person [i.e. hunter]. Honji: the Dainichi [Mahāvairocana] of the Diamond World. The eldest child.
> For each, chant in the abbreviated manner[371] the seven scrolls of the Heart Sutra, one scroll of the Rishu [Principle of Wisdom] Sutra; this is the offering to the kami.
> The mantra of the Womb World Dainichi: [*A-ku*]
> The mantra of the Diamond World Dainichi: [*Ban*]
> The sanctuary of the gathered [kami]. The twelve children etc and the entourage of one hundred-and-twenty. Chant in the abbreviated manner one scroll of the Heart Sutra and one scroll of the *Rishu* Sutra; this is the offering to the kami.

The identifications in *Kōya kuketsu* with the Ryōbu worlds (*Ryōbu-kai*) correspond to the syllables on the paintings - which indicate the two aspects of Dainichi that the kami are listed as the avatars of. Also, the material appearances (*shintai*) match, as the "*zoku*"

[371] *Tendoku* 転読. In contrast to *shindoku* (真読 "true reading"), this type of recitation requires sections from the beginning, middle, and ending of a sutra.

(worldly, or common, that is to say "hunterly") body is given for Kōya Myōjin (as opposed to his aristocratic appearance which had already appeared in paintings). The honji-suijaku paradigm moves us away already from an understanding of the paintings as based simply on engi textual descriptions, but this paradigm itself must be historicized. The *Takusenki* gives a succinct explanation of how the concept of *suijaku* should be understood: it is the expression, or function, of the ordinary mundane world, and in the case of Kōyasan's kami, the *suijaku* functions are identified with the social functions of male and female humans: "The *suijaku* is the function of the surface world. And in this world there are men and women… Women are compassion and men enact praise and punishment. The suijaku of the two kami are these functions." [372]

Of course, this draws on the links of kami with the two aspects of the *Ryōbu-kai* and the conventionally accepted gendering of each, though the male aspect diverges from the quality of wisdom/principle, as convention dictates, to that of "justice". This is a small but significant detail: kami *were* primarly responsible for this at the time: indeed they had dealt judgment and justice in the temple conflicts. The *honji* are given along with the *suijaku* in this text, but they are, unusually, Fudō and Aizen, but these in turn are identified with the *Ryōbu-kai*. Another text that can ground these paintings in their socio-historical context, and that extends the *honji-suijaku* paradigm is that found in Shingon monk Gahō's (d. 1317) *Dado hiketsu shō.* In addition to explaining in this text that Niu is Amaterasu's sister, or else the same-body (*dōtai* 同体) as Amaterasu, he also notes that Niu at Amano and Niu at Kōyasan have different *honji*, indicating that their meanings and functions were different

[372] *Takusenki*, 1:73.

according to the site at which they were enshrined. He writes: "The *honji* of Niu Daimyōjin at Amano is Śākyamuni. At this mountain it is Dainichi of the Womb World [mandala]."[373] Gahō's explanation derives in part from the Shinzen *Goyuigo* (thought to be of the early twelfth century). It was an influential source for understandings of Niu Myōjin, and in fact the inscription on the painting of her contains an extract. Gahō though, diverges from a more popular idea. That Kōyasan was a site visited by the historical buddha had been around for some time (and was not exclusive to Kōyasan): it was commonly cited and inventively used, and in fact was one part of an assembly of tropes concerned with Pure Lands, enlightenment, and presence at the site. These were best encapsulated by a statement (well-known from the Heian period to the present day) attributed to pilgrimage-guide Ningai:

> Mount Koya is a constant abiding place of worthies and sages of the ten directions, the spot frequented by all buddhas of the three periods of time… It is the place where Śākyamuni turned the wheel of the dharma, the site where Maitreya will preach. Those who set foot on this mountain even once will never return to their old home in the three evil paths; those who take faith in this place even briefly will be present in the three assemblies when Maitreya descends.[374]

The claim became popular, expressed on the Koyasan Renge Mandala 高野山蓮華曼荼羅 and it came to be encapsulated in a three-part 21-character expression: 一度参詣高野山　　无始罪障道中滅　　随願速得諸仏土. Its influence was long-lasting: Shinken, for instance, quoted Ningai in his *Koyasan Kan hosshin shinshū*. The *Koyasan hiki*, the

[373] SSZS, 23.

[374] *Shunju*, 66.

thirteenth century compilation of secret oral teachings probably by either Dōhan or Myōchō,[375] seems to expand this citation, and to develop the notion of Śākyamuni's presence at Kōyasan. His explanation effectively positioned Kobo Daishi in the center of the lineage of Śākyamuni and Maitreya:

> A clone [*bunshin* 分身] of Śākyamuni bodhisattva was in the stone room at Okunoin when he was in Tusita. Kōbō Daishi is the [manifested] same body [*tōryūshin* 等流身[376]] of Miroku bodhisattva. Miroku bodhisattva ascended and will be in Chisokuten [Tusita] for 5 billion 670 million years. And Daishi is in a state of adamantine meditation in the stone room, awaiting his descent. The *okina* [old man][377] Koya Myōjin, in the inner pavilion of Tusita,[378] and Daishi and his disciples all pray, and he bestowed the mountainous territory of Koyasan. During that time, the finer details of that previously mentioned matter will not be elaborated here. Anyway, at the time a promise was made. Daishi said, You must get on my back. The disciples attached with hands and feet on left and right. They flew extremely swiftly. Daishi and his disciples together all closed their eyes and arrived at the *haiden* of Okunoin. The old man appeared and said: this stone room is the dwelling and meditation room of Shaka Nyorai [Tathagata]. After spreading the esoteric teachings, you should enter adamantine meditation in this room and await the descent of Miroku. This is not just the dwelling place for the [manifested] same body of Śākyamuni and Miroku, it is the ancient room in which all buddhas of the three periods of time came. He said this and disappeared.[379]

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[375] The *Hiki* itself claimed that the teachings it contained had been received—or perceived—mystically (kantoku 感得) by Meizan, the founder of the Chūinryū, directly from Kukai's *deshi* Shinzen (真然). In other words, the structure of lineage is reinforced by the method of text "production" (or discovery) as well.

[376] 等流身 *Tōrushin* is the Shingon term for *keshin* – the manifested body of the buddha that functions to guide all manner of sentient beings.

[377] Yamaori has shown that between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, the elderly were considered as capable of being intermediaries between humans and gods, and the okina figure encompassed this meaning. Yamaori Tetsuo 山折哲雄, *Kami kara Okina e* 神から翁へ, (Tokyo: Seidōsha 青土社, 1984): 124-86.

[378] The term used here is "Aitta-in"; Aitta being another name for Miroku, this signifies Tosotsuten.

[379] *Kōyasan hiki* 11 (Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 68).

In the above mentioned *Kōyasan kan hosshin jinshū*, the *Ryōbu* identifications are further refined: "At the *miyashiro* [shrine], in the North is Niu Daimyōjin. Her *honji* is Dainichi of the Womb world. In the South is Kōya Daimyōjin. His *honji* is Dainichi of the Diamond world. It says in the *Kanjō chinju keibyaku mon* [invocation and settling prayer text] that they are the two bodies of meditation and wisdom." Here they are further identified with *jō* and *e* – state of meditation (*zenjō* 禅定) and wisdom (*chie* 智恵). The dual aspect of the mandala, the two states, and the two kami all imply, ultimately, a third element, which functions to combine them, and to overcome duality, just as the *Ryōbu* are aspects of Dainichi Nyorai. This third element, Dainichi Nyorai, is not depicted as such in textual schemes but rather—in keeping with the *honji-suijaku* model—Kūkai, who was considered to be the "same body" (i.e. was identified with) as Dainichi. Additionally, there was a theory that Kūkai was also Miroku. The importance of a third element and a conceptual triad was important in the mid-13th century Kōyasan-centric texts. A "three-point theory" (*santen setsu*) recorded by Dōhan in 1243 in a section titled *Kōyasan hishaku (*高野山秘尺 *Secret Interpretation of Kōyasan)* within the *Kōyasan hiji* (高野山秘事 *Secret Matters of Kōyasan*) does not refer directly to the kami, but the "principle *ri* -wisdom *chi* - *ji* concrete phenomena" triad is a signifier for the *Ryōbu-kai*:

> Secret interpretation of Kōyasan.
>
> *Kō* is: heaven, upright, wisdom. *Ya* is: earth, horizontal, principle. *San* is: that which reaches up from earth and enters heaven, that is, a mountain. Therefore, Heaven and earth are not separate [are non-dual], so this is [an expression of] the non-duality of wisdom and abstract principle. There are three points for the characters for the

> mountain *ri*, *ji* and *chi*, so abstract principle [*ri*], wisdom [*chi*] and concrete phenomena [*ji*] are the three points. According to this the three points of wisdom, abstract principle and concrete phenomena that are originally in our minds (*kokoro*), are Kōyasan. This should be examined deeply. Is that why one grieves to be separated from the mountain? Things are all comprised of three parts [points]. In the world, the father is wisdom, the mother is abstract principle, the child is the concrete phenomena, the child is the sum of the three parts. The bone is the essence of the father, flesh is the essence of the mother, and the fusion of bone and flesh is a human, and so this is what *jiten* [phenomena] are.
>
> Recorded by Dōhan Ajari on the 22nd day of the 6th month of 1243 (Kangen 1)[380]

Dōhan's explanation of the name of the monastic community, Kōyasan, separates it into syllables each of which comprise part of the form of the *kanji* character for mountain (山) mountain. Presumably the vertical lines on the left and right signify "kō," the horizontal, "ya," and the central, taller vertical line, "san." In doing so, he essentially glosses the general character for "mountain" as "Kōyasan" itself, and redefines it as the very cosmos (earth, heaven, and what connects them to each other). This was not an uncommon style of esoteric exegesis at the time, and it is one that is indicative as well of the attempt to incorporate all phenomena into the Shingon model. Wisdom and compassion, as seen previously were often considered the two "worlds" or aspects of the Dharma world, but wisdom and (abstract) principle were sometimes given these roles, as seen here. And so the mountain aspects as reconfigured by Dōhan were allocated the qualities of principle, wisdom, and phenomena. Through this, Kōyasan is fully identified with the mind. Dōhan finally adds a worldly example of his triadic principle, the model of human reproduction. Dōhan had extolled a type of the radical proposition of non-dualism and his emphasis on the triad may be an expression of this. His focus on the mountain

[380] 22nd day of the sixth month of 1243. Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi shū*, 296.

itself, along with the literary genre in which this passage appears—a Chūinryū text of secret teachings—suggests that such thinking would apply as well to the triad of Kūkai and the kami who were also central to the Chūinryū system of beliefs.

This excursion into *honji-suijaku* highlights the historicity of the paradigm and is an attempt to place the paintings within a more specific, less generalized context. But also, such an expansion of the paradigm offers an explanation as to why another variety of kami painting showed a triad of Kukai-Niu-Kōya (the *Mondōkō zu*). Considering this, it may be suggested that originally these kami paintings included a third central image of Kūkai. In fact, a copy of Kariba Myōjin was indeed made as a set together with a "Chigo Daishi" [Kōbō Daishi as an acolyte] at Shōchi-in, but the hypothetical Niu Myōjin does not exist in this case. Kadoya Atsushi, though, has suggested the possibility of such a triad.[381] It is though, as likely that just like *Ryōbu* mandalas, the Kongōbuji diptych simply implied a binding third element: it should itself be interpreted as a mandala.

2. The Kariba inscriptions: The absent patriarch, revival, and protection

Although previous research on these works has focused mainly on the imagery alone and emphasized only the connection with the Kōyasan *engi* found in *Shugyō engi* and *Konjaku*, analysis of the inscriptions on the Kongōbuji diptych yields different kinds of information. Because the Kongōbuji diptych is the original, its inscriptions should also be taken as standard and definitive. They were not uniformly copied - if at all. The poetic style and the

[381] Kadoya, "Niutsuhime shōkō."

characters (*meibun* 銘文) on the cartouche-like sections, along with what we know of kami worship in the late Kamakura period indicate the role of the kami as intermediaries between monks and pure lands or heavens, rather than presenting them as merely protectors of Buddhism. The kami here also warn monks against breaking the precepts, speak of the descent of Maitreya, and demonstrate the authority to visit sacred violence upon offenders. The inscriptions conform to one of the categories in Miezyslaw Wallis's taxonomy of text on European religious paintings – they transmit the message of a sacred being.[382] But even while the image and text indicate ideologies that are not radically different from those centered on kami worship in the powerful temple complexes of the period, they also reveal a particular "Kōyasan culture," one that is based in certain concepts of the sacredness of the site itself and the ancestor worship of its founder, especially his state of eternal meditation (*nyūjō shinkō* 入定信仰). These are both bound up with the cosmology of Tosotsuten Buddhist "heaven" and its resident Buddha, Miroku – but, it is important to recognize that they are also bound up with certain Chūin-ryū figures and are not simply part of a generally shared religious ideology. The inscriptions are not from specialized doctrinal commentaries, exegetical texts, or sutras. They draw on a different genre: legends, tales, biographies about Kōyasan and produced at Kōyasan. The texts from which they seem to have been taken were produced by, or of particular significance to the Chūin-ryū branch. Many of this branch's teachings were specifically about Kōyasan the land, its architecture, and its kami. These kinds of teachings are exemplified by *Takusenki*.

[382] Miezyslaw Wallis, "Inscriptions in Paintings," *Semiotica* 9.1 (1973), 6-9.

The inscriptions are related to the mainstream Chuin-ryu: some of the members of its practice lineages (*hōryū*) were important figures in the administration of the mountain, as is by now clear. Two of the inscriptions on the paintings had significance to this sect's explanation of its lineage. They are extracts from longer texts and cannot be understood without this context for modern-day viewers. However, for the same reason, we can assume they were quite familiar to their contemporary audience since their form as quotes, or extracts, indicates, as mentioned above, that they must have been considered encapsulations of the fundamental meanings the deities held for the sect. Certainly, as indicated above, the commonly used *Goyuigo* versions provided a general understanding of Niu Myōjin. The texts from which the inscriptions were quoted were philosophical ones—often secret transmissions—but they were mainstream for the scholars (the Chūinryū, who dominated text production at the time) and are contextually inseparable from what was happening in Kōyasan at the time. The inscriptions are quotes that find their sources in a cluster of places, all of them Chūinryū-related: from Dōhan; cited as an oracle from a kami also recorded by Dōhan; from Nichizō Shōnin via Shinnichi; Kishin; and from a record by Shinken (brother of Shinnichi). The figures themselves will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The text on the painting of Kariba Myōjin appears to describe a kami injured through its efforts to protect lazy monks. There are two separate sections of text encased in one painted-on cartouche on the painting of Kariba, the first of which follows. I also give the reading in the footnote (and elsewhere as well for the other texts on the painting), since the poetic rhythm and style into which the quotes were arranged are significant.

高野護法御足常裂血流

是則無勤空受信施住侶
日食時服殊以愛故也[383]

Protecting Koya my legs/ are always
torn and bleeding
[It is for] the resident monks who do
not work and [yet still] receive
offerings
[For] eating regularly is important

The *Fudoki* gazette, in its Kōyasan section, cites this passage from *Amano gū Shinnichi kiroku*[384] 天野宮信日記録, and it appears to be the earliest source for the inscription. The following is the passage in which the inscription is found and notably, it ends with the threat of punishment who monks who indulge in sensual pleasures and neglect their studies:

春山烟細之朝嘆一鉢惟空囘廿伴於都鄙秋嶺嵐烈之夕悲三衣漸破赴十二王子於遠近為
高埜護法吾足常裂血流是則無勤空受信施住侶日食睡眠衣服殊以重故也若徒好色入見愛無学者吾豈不使其暗加治罰乎[385]

[383] 高野を護法し、御そく常にさけ血流れる
これすなわちつとめなく空しく　僧侶をしんせうくる
にっしょくする時、服ことに愛をもてする　ゆえなり

[384] The reading of the title is tentative. It is recorded as being by Shūden 秀伝 (Sonkai 尊海; 1625-1695), dates to 1658, and a copy is at Kōyasan's Shinnō'in 親王院. The writer, a highly-ranked Muryōjū'in scholar monk who was initiated into the Chūin-ryū at Zuishin'in in 1665 and who became 268th *zasu* at Kōyasan in 1686.

[385] *Fudoki*, 648.

The smoke thinly rises in the morning on the mountain in
spring, lamentable the monks' empty [food] bowls
[I am] with the kami of the shrines [of Ise Daijingu] moving
around capital and countryside
Harsh storms in the evening on the peak in autumn, the
sadness of ripped robes
My helpers go near and far
It is because of this protection of the Buddhist Law at Koya,
that my legs are always torn and bleeding.
[It is for] the resident monks who do not work and [yet still]
receive offerings,
[Because] food and sleep each day are important.

The complaint of the kami is clear. The line "[resident monks] who do not work and [yet still] receive offerings" (無勤空受信施住僧) is a reference to the more commonly used expression *shinse muzan* (信施無慚), meaning the shameless acceptance of offerings (food and so on) without leading an appropriated disciplined monastic life. It appears in, for example, *Mitsugon-in Hatsuro Sange no Mon* (密厳院発露懺悔文), by Kōyasan monk Kakuban (1095~1143) where there is a similar remonstration of monks for their breaking of precepts: "They call themselves monks but they dirty [violate] the temples, present themselves as monks and receive offerings yet forget and do not maintain their set of precepts regarding reception [of offerings], break the rules of restraint they should be studying instead of adhering to them… spend their days pointlessly."[386]

Shinnichi was another celebrated scholar member of the Chūin-ryu (one of "the eight"), resident with his brother Shinken at Dairaku'in. The *Nanzan chūin shingon hihō sho sōden fu* 南山中院真言秘法諸祖伝譜 by Ihō relates a mystical experience of the *honji*

[386] In *Shūhō*, 132.

of the kami at Amano (i.e Niu, Kariba, and perhaps others enshrined there) that Shinnichi had undergone whilst in incubation (*sanrō*) on 10/26, 1305.[387] But it is written in the account given in the *Fudoki* (at greater length than the excerpt I gave above), and presumably by Shinnichi, that the takusen (which comprises the inscription) was heard by Nichizō Shōnin—an ascetic mountain practitioner who had other-worldly experiences such as visiting hell. And the oracle was given by "Kōya Myōjin" (i.e. Kariba Myōjin) at a meeting of the kami to which he arrives late. The deity defends himself. He is dirty and bleeding, he says, because he has been excessively busy working to save sentient beings. There is a similar account concerning the kami of Wakasa province, suggesting this was a trope: he too is late to a major ritual gathering of kami.[388] All kami (13,700 of them) are to join the Nigatsudo Keka service, but Onyū kami of Wakasa province [now southern Fukui; Kehi shrine is there] is busy catching fish, arrives late, and apologizes to the priest Jitchu, promising to make offering of divine water to Kannon bodhisattva. This ritual is the Shuni-e (Omizutori) of Tōdaiji in Nara - and today the water is poured into the Onyu river (*omizu okuri* お水送り) from Wakasa Jingūji, and drawn (*omizu tori* お水取り) from the Wakasa well at Tōdaiji:

> A long time ago, when a priest, Jicchu, carried out a Buddhist service and chanted names of the whole nation's Gods to descend to this world, only Onimyōjin who was the God of Wakasa and was fishing at the Oni river was late for the event. To take responsibility of this, Myōjin told Jicchu that he would send water from Oni river. Soon after, two black and white cormorants flied [sic] away from the Wakasa well, and water appeared.[389]

[387] ZSSZ, 461.

[388] Abe, *Weaving the Mantra*, 169.

[389] See www.gyohomiso.com. Accessed July 11th, 2016.

This is a reference, as in the Niu Myōjin takusen, which I will look at in the following section, to the role of the kami in Kūkai's absence. It reflects a preoccupation during the period with intense notions surrounding Miroku (whose appearance would correspond with that of Kōbō Daishi). There were Kōbō Daishi travelling around to help people (legends that co-existed with the belief in his ultimate re-appearance with Miroku), and would manifest (*yōgō*) himself. He would especially appear at times when the transmission of teachings was poor, a notion that drew on the broader one of a Dharmic decline that would precipitate Miroku's emergence, but narrowed to focus on his own teachings: "When I see that my teaching is not going well, I will mingle with the black-robed monks to promote my teaching."[390] The image of tattered robes in Kariba Myōjin's takusen appears, with the same meaning, in a message delivered via dream in which he appeared to Daigo Tenno. He informed the ruler that because he had been travelling the realm for 84 years after his "entrance into meditation," his robes were ripped. This formed part of the narrative around the ceremonial offering of a new robe to him by Kangen in 921, along with his posthumous title, Kōbō Daishi.

Even on a copy lacking the inscription (Fig. 8) the blood on the hunter's legs is graphically depicted, visually citing the Shinnichi text. A link between this takusen (inscription) (and that on the Niu painting) and the Henmyō'in takusen also emerges in the *Fudoki* account, where it is related that this is "an oracle of Kōya Myōjin on one piece of paper (一紙). It was separately transmitted for the sake of future student monks and has

[390] "The Founding of Mt. Kōya and Kūkai's Eternal Meditation," 358 and Nicoloff, *Sacred Kōyasan*, 78, 79 and 87.

spread into the world" (後生学徒のために別傳して世に流布するあり).[391] The cartouche text then, must have been a well-known maxim for monks. Its form, as found in a different temple, is evidence for the *Fudoki* information regarding its transmission. There is a *kirigami* (text on a single piece of paper) at Kōyasan's Sanbō'in 三宝院 which has nearly the same content and was once one of a pair, together with an oracle from Niu Myōjin, and dated to Kenji 2 (1276). This is a year date also ascribed to *Takusenki* in several copies and records (and rejected because it postdates Dōhan's death). Though the connection does remain obscure, Ihō's eighteenth century account of the Henmyō'in oracle suggests the Kariba Myōjin message originated there, paraphrasing the content of the latter and confirming it was an intervention to warn monks, by the kami. He also states, in this context, that the two kami provided a particular protection for the Chūin-ryū.[392] It seems likely that the takusen were delivered at the same time, or in any case thought to have been. The Sanbō'in *kirigami*, cited in the *Fudoki*, reads almost identically to the *Shinnichi kiroku*, but it is prefaced by the title "The Oracle of Kōyasan Daimyōjin" (高野山大明神御託宣) and ends with the the statement that it was "a kami oracle received by Dōhan, Hannya, Hōren etc, in the year Kenji 2." Hannya 般若 and Hōren 宝蓮 are the monastic (*bō* 房) names of Ryūken and Yūshin, who were indeed signatories of the *Takusenki*, and thus witnesses to the oracle. At present, there is no copy of *Takusenki* available that includes the inscriptions on the paintings of Kariba and Niu. It is possible that they were delivered then, but in the absence of connecting evidence, it can only be noted that the two inscriptions

[391] *Fudoki*, 648.

[392] *Nanzan chūin shingon hihō sho soden* 南山中院真言秘法書相伝, In ZSSZ, 458.

were considered by a considerable number of commentators to have been somehow linked to the event, to that period, and to Dōhan and his circle.

The second piece of cartouche-enclosed text on the painting, on a slightly paler yellow-brown background, and in a different script, is of unknown direct origin:

> 我が住は夜も消え果てじ高野山 高
> きみ法の法の灯[393]
>
> Where I reside, the evenings are dark, [yet] the lantern of the law at the height of Kōyasan is not extinguished.

It is not directly related to Kariba Myōjin but is a waka poem spoken to the monk Kishin Shōnin 祈親上人 (Joyo 定誉 ? - 1047) by Niu Myōjin who manifested to him as he offered a lamp in front of Kōbō Daishi's mausoleum, vowing to revive the monastic mountain institution.[394] It was around the same time that Niu and Kōya Myōjin were enshrined next to the mausoleum, establishing a close material and ritual relationship between the three. Kishin was the teacher of Meizan, and the two together were considered the revivers of Kōyasan. (Nyohō, to be discussed below, was Meizan's student.) It was also during Kishin's revival activities that the Chūin, believed to have been the resident temple of Kōbō Daishi, was reconstructed. Meizan – Chūin-ryū founder - lived here. Shinken's *Kōyasan kan hosshin jinshū* contains the following passage in its section *Kishin Shōnin*

[393] わかすまはよもきえ / はてじたか野やまた / かきみのりののりのともしひ

[394] See Oyama,"Kōyasan no Mikkyō" in Gorai, 1976, 132-204.

jusan no koto (祈親上人住山之事 *Regarding Kishin Shōnin's Residency on the Mountain*):

> For 156 years there have been no monks living here. That is to say, in the spring mists dust gathered in the bottom of impoverished [alms] bowls and in the autumn fogs dew drenched the obi of the robes. Truly at dawn and dusk the clouds would not clear, and grass huts could not be maintained, and in the morning and evening smoke used up the twig doors[?] Already there were no resources for clothing or food. [395]

Spring and autumn, mists and fogs, dust and dew, empty bowls and discarded robes: this, though it utilizes common poetic pairings, is an evocative description of the deserted mountain prior to Kishin's revival of its community. Here the insistence on the total lack of resident monks seems to contrast with the emphasis on "those who live here" in the Niu Myōjin painted cartouche (a point to which I will return), but the urgency with which the cartouche's message is delivered reflects a concern with keeping the site populated, of not allowing it to decline once more. And while the waka poem is not contained in it, it is about the receiver (Kishin) and it seems to be related to the other part of the inscription with which it shares select key words, phrases, and images. Indeed, the inscription seems to be a reference to it: by evoking it, its cautionary warning to the monks is strengthened. The key motifs of bowl and robes are indirect references to the reception of offerings, the unethical conduct regarding which is criticized in the text on the painting.

In addition to evoking times of poverty that are to be avoided by monastic effort, the inscriptions indirectly celebrated the specific reviver, and one of the founding members

[395] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi shū*, 305.

of the Chūin-ryū: Kishin. The addition of the *waka* did so too, of course, endowing Kishin with the blessings of Niu Myōjin. Kishin's revival of Koyasan was closely related to Miroku and Tosotsu worship – discussed below - as the dream that prompted it had shown him that Kōyasan was none other than Tosotsuten. The community had closed as a result of a great fire in 994 as well as the embezzlement of the mountain's revenue by the Kii province governor (Kagamasa) and his successors. While Kishin is honored here as reviver and savior of Kōyasan, clearly the implication of the painting is that worship of the kami is vital for the community at Kōyasan to survive. Broadly speaking, it can be suggested that the Kariba Myōjin painting represents the lineage and the legitimacy of the Chūin-ryū in the wake of the violence and exiles. Its link to scholar monks, quite aside from the (both probable and explicit) references to the "great" Chūin-ryū scholar monks is indicated by the reprimand of monks who neglect their studies, and also by the description quoted above of the Sanbō'in transmission of the two texts, identical to the inscriptions, to scholar monks.

A brief return to this Sanbō'in text illuminates its material context as well as its "genre." The Chūin-ryū cited as part of a "bundle of five "papers"" (五紙一包) the *Myōōin Go Takusen* 明王院御託宣 (*Oracle of Myōōin*) and the *Kōya Myōjin Go Takusen koto* 高野明神御託宣事 (*On the Oracle of Kōya Myōjin*) together with *Kōya Myōjin Gokoto Nichizō Shōnin Sōden* 高野明神御事日蔵上人相傳 (*Nichizō Shōnin's Transmission about Kōya Myōjin*), *Shinzen Daitoku Hiketsu* 真禅大徳秘訣 (*Priest Shinzen's Secret [Method]*) and *Daitō gobutsu izama no koto* 大塔五佛居様の事(*On the Five Buddhas in the Great Pagoda*).[396] In both this "bundle" and at Sanbō'in, there were two takusen, one from Niu

[396] Ōyama, *Chūin-ryū no kenkyū*, 538.

Myōjin (here, this is the Myōō'in-related one) and two from Kōya Myōjin (one of these must have been the one used for the inscription; likely the Nichizō Shōnin related one). For the Chūin-ryū, their inscriptions on the paintings created a visual culture equivalent to their secret textual one.

3. The Niu inscriptions: On remaining at Kōyasan, and reaching the Pure Land of Maitreya

An account appearing in the 801 *Tado jinguji garan engi nami ni shizaichō* (多度神宮寺伽藍縁起並資材帳 *The Origins of the worship hall of Tado shrine-temple and its properties*) which concerns the Tado kami (enshrined in today's Mie prefecture) relates that in 763 the deity delivered the following oracle via a human:

> "For a long time I have accumulated heavy transgressions and as a result became a kami. I have long wished to part from my kami-body and to take refuge in the three jewels."[397] This sort of oracle, though unclear, was repeated time and again. Therefore, Mangan Zenshi cleared the southern slope of Shinza-san [神座山 lit. "mountain where the kami dwells"], erected a small temple, and made an image of the deity. He named it Tado Daibosatsu.[398]

According to this, an image was created because the kami wished to take refuge in Buddhism. In other words, it required form so that it could receive the teachings from

[397] The three jewels (*sanbō* 三宝) are the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha (monastic community).

[398] See the entry for *shinzō* in Nakamura Hajime 中村元 and Kuno Takeshi 久野健, *Bukkyō bijutsu jiten* 仏教美術事典 (Dictionary of Buddhist Art), (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki 東京書籍), 465. This translation of the passage is from Christina Guth Kanda, *Shinzō: Hachiman Imagery and Its Development* (Harvard: Harvard University East Asia Center, 1985), 12, with my slight amendation.

monks: it is itself a *worshipper*, not a worshipped. As we will see below, this oracle is almost identical in some respects to the one given by Niu Myōjin as she encounters Kōbō Daishi, whilst another account attributes a new and different iconography (which also emerged in the 13th century) to a visionary encounter experienced by a later monk of the same tradition who is recognized as "copier" of her "shadow."

Like the Tado kami, Niu confesses to having accumulated transgressions during her years spent in a kami existence, and wishes to be liberated by the Dharma through Kōbō Daishi. This account is referenced by one of the inscriptions on the left of Niu Myōjin in the painting. The text is slightly faded in places, and the dark background with black ink exacerbates the difficulty in discerning it, but since it is a near-perfect quote from a passage found in an older text, the *Goyuigo* (mentioned above), it is possible to reconstruct it. It purports to be the last words of Kukai, transmitted to his disciples. The inscription follows:

妾有神道望威福久也
方今菩薩到此山
妾之幸也弟子昔在
人世之時食国皇命
給家地以万許町獻
之永世方表仰信情矣

I have long been on the kami path, and desired joy and authority.
Now a bodhisattva [i.e Kukai] has come to this mountain which gives me joy. I am his disciple.
When I was a human an emperor gave me this land.
This donation is permanent and it is an expression of my everlasting faith."

Though it contains no mention of icon-making as a result of the encounter, this is not only a similar "conversion"—or perhaps, assimilation/appropriation—but also a donation of land belonging to the kami, that is, Kōyasan. The notion that kami desired Buddhist liberation was a discourse that allowed Buddhism to take root in Japan since it allowed the new set of beliefs and practices to co-exist with the old (in fact, it may be argued that it to some extent created the older set of beliefs; it is generally thoughts that icons of kami were not made until the identities and notions of kami needed to be defined in the face of the Buddhist pantheon). And for a kami to donate land to a monk who wished to build a monastery on it was the ultimate validation of the "new" faith.[399] The text from which the inscription is taken contains a little more information on the land, specifically, information regarding its span: "[It stretches] to Nankai in the south; to the Nihon river in the North; to the East the country of Dainippon; to the West the valley of Mount Ōjin. This donation is permanent and it is an expression of my everlasting faith."

The specificity of the passage indicates its function: it was a textual "map" recording the boundaries of the land that belonged to Kūkai and his Shingon sect. It also stated that the donation was permanent—a detail retained in the quote in the inscription—while the exact span of land given is not. The reason is likely that the boundaries of land shifted over time as Kōyasan became an ever more powerful temple complex and owner of estates. As the land which it claimed to own expanded, complaints inevitably arose, and

[399] Buddhism had really entered Japan piecemeal, not in one fell swoop, so it is misleading to say it was a "new" faith. In any case, certainly by this time many other Buddhist schools (the so-called Nara "Six Schools") were already thriving, and even esoteric Buddhism had already arrived far earlier (albeit in somewhat scattered form) on the islands. However, it was not until Kūkai and Saichō (with his Tendai school) introduced what they had learned in China, and brought back texts, ritual implements, and so on, that the esoteric schools were fully institutionally established.

even led to court cases. One of these, the most serious and protracted, was between Kōya-san and the above-mentioned Yoshino, and it took place in the mid-13th century; another was over another important estate, Ategawa during the same period. These have been extensively covered by Yamakage Kazuo, and a number of other Japanese scholars who specialize in estate history, and by Fröhlich in English, all of whom emphasize the use by Kōyasan's monks of a spurious map attributed to Kūkai included in the aforementioned *Goshuin engi* and had been "re-discovered" in 1159, as the land disputes were beginning to heat up. This map outlined the boundaries of land apparently bestowed on Kūkai, and the origin stories of encounters with kami that I have discussed here were repeatedly made use of during court litigation.[400]

Kadoya Atsushi too has remarked upon the way that the origin stories or *engi* of Kōyasan change in accordance with its land expansion,[401] but he does not note the significant absence of any mention of a specific span of land in the inscription of the painting. This omission quite simply left matters open, so that expansion could be ever justified, and that whatever the actual area of land claimed under Kōyasan 's ownership was, would always and forever be a "permanent donation" from the mountain kami to the founder. This does not mean that the paintings themselves functioned as legal documents, but a certain, expedient ideology can be discerned within them - objects normally considered monofunctionally, for devotional practice (or, more recently, as art). The three functions are not mutually exclusive. The source of the inscription text is the *Goyuigo*.

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[400] See Asakawa 1965 and Fröhlich, *Rulers, Peasants, and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Japan*, 76-118.

[401] Kadoya, "Niutsuhime shōkō," 44.

The other part of the inscription on the painting of Niu Myōjin is another oracle, which concerns her manifestation and iconography. That this is juxtaposed with the oracle concerning the land instills authenticity into the land claim since, as in the case of Kariba Myōjin discussed above, her iconography is described as a "copy" of the kami's "shadow" by a mystical encounter and not, needless to say, the product of a professional workshop based on some commonly shared iconographical models (such as the one that informed Yoshino's Mikomori deity). This confers the greatest (and most sacred) legitimacy on the image itself since it cannot be disputed. The land claim implied by the inscription – also said to be the sacred words of the deity – are, then, likewise just as valid, real, and timeless as the image must be.

The text from which this section comes also contains assurances that certain monks would attain rebirth in Tusita, and assurance made by *kami*. Later records mention that the kami assured all the monks of Henmyō'in of *their* exclusive passage to Tosotsuten. Where conventionally, as Ningai's had claimed, those who simply visited Kōyasan were guaranteed a place in Maitreya's three assemblies in this realm, now monks of a particular branch were being assured of rebirth (that is, "ascent") to the heaven in which Maitreya preached. On the right side of the kami appears this inscription:

止住此峯之頗誓心決定
者必令送佛土若有無戒
放逸之侶可感決定応受
業暫列妾之使者衆可
期慈尊下生縦載角憶
持神咒

Those who live on this mountain with hearts of faith

Will certainly be delivered to a Buddhist Land
If there are those that do not keep the precepts and are negligent
They must feel the karmic consequences
For a while my messenger will be with them
Expecting the descent of Maitreya
With horns on its head, and maintaining the chanting

It is easy to interpret the phrase as "monks should [or "will"] realize the karma they bring about by breaking the precepts" which is what is suggested by the use of the character *kan* 感, but *Kōyasan hiki* gives metsu 滅 ("to extinguish"), in its place.[402] This is unusual (there are several other copies available to compare it with). The very close similarity between the characters strongly indicates that a copyist's error was made, but whether the error is on the painting or on the text is difficult to determine. The discourse of the time was that bad karma could be erased by being on the mountain (and, here, through the protection and intercession of the kami). Ningai's statement suggests as much, and so does one attributed to Shinzen, direct follower of Kukai.[403] Such negotiations with karmic destiny were not unique. In the same period, Hōnen and Shinran's Pure Land thought posited that "faith in the *nenbutsu* supposedly enables one to "transcend karma", and … observance of the precepts is not required for salvation".[404] Even though it is sometimes claimed that Shingon communities had little interest in mappō ideology, this may be a Kōyasan response to the same *mappō* and Pure Land currents of thought espoused by the Pure Land schools. They posited that simply by being on the mountain one could attain rebirth in a pure land,

[402] *Hiki* 7 (Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 67).

[403] In Hayami, *Miroku shinkō*, 72-73.

[404] Jacqueline Stone, "Seeking Enlightenment in the Last Age: "Mappō" Thought in Kamakura Buddhism: Part 1," *The Eastern Buddhist* 18.1 (1985) p.47.

even if one could not keep the precepts. Faith in Maitreya is once again reflected in this inscription. Mujū 無住, author of the *Shasekishū* (沙石集 1279~83) setsuwa tale collection writes of a Miroku-gyoja (Maitreya "worshipper-practitioner" Shingon monk named Yuishinbō who was believed to have been reborn in Tusita. He writes of this monk: "The rites done at death are truly wonderful. It's said that Miroku is Dainichi, so the rite performed must have been the Womb World practice. He was born in the Inner Chamber and also worships The Great Patriarch Daishi, and has become the *deshi* of Miroku, so this truly enviable."[405] The passage suggests that Kōbō Daishi (here, "Kōsō Daishi," or "Great Patriarch") was present in Tosotsuten. Therefore, the aspirations of Shingon practitioners to be reborn in Tusita may also have been the aspiration to join Kōbō Daishi.

Miroku worship was an essential part of *Daishi shinkō*, through the linkage of the two holy figures. This is indicated throughout the *Takusenki* and other "secret" teachings of the Chūin-ryū. Dōhan and Meizan were both believed to have visited, or to dwell, in Tusita, according to *Takusenki*. It is plainly stated that the former resided there: "Chūin *gobō* is in the Chūin of Tosotsuten." Chūin was a reference to Meizan, who occupied the cloister of the same name. And in the article that follows this, in a line that precedes the description of a dream of Dohan lecturing, we are told that "Ajari Dōhan of Shōchi'in, in this life, visits Tosotsu Nai'in." "Tosotsu Nai'in" is the "inner court" (or cloister) of Tusita, where it was believed that Miroku constantly propounds the Law. This line means either that Dōhan undertakes practices that allow him to access this realm or that, as Abe contends, that it

[405] *Shasekishū* 沙石集, by Mujū 無住, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 85, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1966). Translated by Robert E. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*, (New York: SUNY), 1985.

symbolically implies he was part of the Chūin-ryū.[406] Given the profound faith in Miroku and Tosotsuten evidenced in texts of the time, and the close affiliation with this heaven/pure land that the Chūinryū laid claim to, I am inclined to interpret it in the former way. Indeed, even the 13th century Miroku bosatsu (Maitreya bodhisattva) mandala includes the tiny figure of Kōbō Daishi in one outer corner[407] (Fig. 9) - a significant intervention of Koyasan-centric ideas in Miroku faith and an illustration of the idea that Kōbō Daishi was in Tosotsuten, with Miroku.

Following the statements about Meizan and Dōhan in the *Takusenki*, a section that deals with several dreams opens (one which is accompanied by Daishi Myojin's analyses in response to the descriptions of it). We also find a lot more references to Tusita and Maitreya, evidencing the associations made between Kōyasan—or parts of it—and some of its figures with that Pure Land and the bodhisattva that dwells in it. We also find statements that indicate monks were practicing "visiting" Tusita, sometimes temporarily before returning to Koyasan, and sometimes posthumously. They, and the kami, may also act as guides to others toTosotsuten. There are several indications of this role in Takusenki, and a link may be drawn between these concepts of the kami and the oracle of Niu Myojin found on the painting regarding deliverance to a pure land. In the dream of Dōhan (the content of which will be addressed more fully below), Ryūkōin (another appellation for Chūin) is the site of the lecture, and Daishi Myōjin, via the chigo-medium, explains that "[T]he meaning of seeing Ryūkōin was because Chūin *gobō* is the guide [*injō* 引摂] for going to the Pure

[406] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, p. 54.

[407] *MD*, 2128.

Land."[408] Ryūkō-in is identified here with the Chūin (central cloister) of Tosotsuten. "Chūin *gobō*" is, as previously, a reference to Meizan and, though the analysis of the dream provided via the takusen is short and lacks detail, his role as a kind of *sendatsu* to that "pure land" suggests a shaman-like process was conceptually and practically engaged in at Kōyasan at this time, and that this was related to what we normally term Shugendō. The term *injō* means the guidance by a Buddha or a bodhisattva to a Pure Land, including posthumous travel to that of Amida. The *Kōyasan ki*, cited below, celebrates Kōbō Daishi as one such guide (using the same term), just as Meizan is here. Later, the kami are given roles as companions to Tusita, like the entourage in the better-known *raigo* 来迎 of Amida's descent to meet the dying and escort them to his pure land: "The two Myōjin accompanied [the monks] Kakken and Nōzen to visit Tosotsu Nai'in."[409] While during grave sickness, a possessed person remarks: "During that time I was close to visiting the Nai'in of Tosotsu."[410] Even more intriguingly, "[T]he *kondō* is the gathering place for pilgrimage to Tosotsuten."[411] The kondō was where monks practiced meditation and studied doctrine and this line suggests that people would gather in this hall to make "visits" (詣) to Tusita.

[408] *Takusenki*, 1:45.

[409] *Takusenki*, 1:60.

[410] *Takusenki*, 2:21.

[411] *Takusenki*, 1:58.

The section in which the *Hiki* includes the inscription text is entitled the "The oral transmission of monk Shinzen" 真禅房口伝事:[412]

> Oral transmission of Shinzen-bō:
> The process of the transmission of this teaching is told in the tale of Shinzen-bō Kaiyo Ajari. [He is] Nyohō Shonin. This was told to his *deshi* Kiju. He was also called Nyohō bō. According to [the] great former teacher, [Shinzen] encountered Niu Daimyojin. There was a bright light, and [she was] wearing heavenly robes, and a jeweled headpiece, she was bedecked with lapis lazuli and gold, but the specifics need not be detailed here; they are in the record. She had given Daishi land, and after that the three mysteries[413] flourished and all the people were at peace. When Daishi entered eternal meditation, a contract was [orally] made: Among the later followers [of the school] those that return to the mountain and live here, and have a sincere heart, will definitely be [going to[414]] a Buddhist land. If there are those that do not keep the precepts and are negligent, the karmic consequences will definitely be extinguished. For a while my [Niu's] messenger [*shisha*] will be among the members of the community, waiting for the descent of Maitreya, with horns on its head, and maintaining the chanting (*jinshū o okujisu*)."
> At both times of *ne* and *ushi* I will go to the monks' places of residence….The authorial light of outer protection [is given] for increasing progress along the Buddha path. The scent of flowers remained in the grass hut for seven days.

The *Fudoki* recounts this episode in its section on Myōō'in. However, its description of the promises made just before Kōbō Daishi entered eternal meditation differs significantly in wording, and also in meaning. Its source is unclear:

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[412] *Hiki* 7 (Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū,* 67).

[413] That is, Shingon Buddhism. The "three mysteries" or *sanmitsu* 三密 normally refers to the three methods necessary for identification with a Buddhist deity in an esoteric ritual, but it can also refer to the Shingon school itself.

[414] No verb is given to clarify whether this means Kōyasan itself is a Buddha Land, or whether it means a rebirth in a Pure Land.

> …I will not forget you.. among [those monks] those with believing minds will be given compassion. Those with minds set on following the path will soon be sent to the Pure Land. If there are those who are disbelieving and slack off, the responsive karma will be hard to turn. If there are those who do not have the strength to receive guidance, my messenger will mix among you and wait for the salvation of Maitreya's descent. Until that time it [?] will have a body with fur and horns. You must maintain the chanting."[415]

The capabilities of the resident monks are categorized and each capability is catered to during the absence of the patriarch. This passage is more explicit than that found in the *Hiki*, but both position the kami—or an animal "messenger"—as protector during that absence. The reference to karma is obscure but seems to concur with the *Hiki*: conventional rules are suspended even for monks who are lazy, through the powers of the kami (though the *Fudoki* account uses a gender-neutral character for I, in contrast to the female one found elsewhere, suggesting it is Kobo Daishi himself speaking). The rhetoric of adaptation to different levels is also seen in the *Takusenki* regarding ability (or lack of) to visually perceive the kami), as well as in the next passage from *Koyasan ki* 高野山記, of the same period and genre, which is strikingly similar to the *Fudoki* account:

> Daishi said those who are drawn to this peak will be joyful at the cause [that led to this?]. But those who quit, will hate their karma. In a possession the Myōjin made a spoken agreement with Daishi: "Those who live on this mountain, if they have sincere hearts, I will certainly send them to one of the Buddha Pure Lands. [Even] if they break the precepts and are not diligent, I will protect them, and they will meet Miroku when he emerges into this world. It is a joy that recently Daishi is a guide to the rebirth in the pure lands of the ten directions….Truly, this mountain is the pure land of the superior grade of rebirth [*jōbon jōshō* 上品上生]. They can travel across billions of buddha worlds to the west. In other words, Daishi in his

[415] *Fudoki*, 372.

> [meditating] human body is Miroku Nyorai. And these are the true words of Daishi.[416]

According to the *Kanmuryōjukyō* (観無量寿経 *The Sutra of Visualization on the Buddha of Measureless Life*), one of the most important sutras in the Pure land school in Japan (and one of those selected by Hōnen as one of the three Pure Land sutras), there are nine levels (*kuhon* 九品) of rebirth according to a person's studies, beliefs, desires, adherence to the precepts, and so on. Pure Land ideas had already permeated the Shingon of Kōyasan, as the works on *nenbutsu* by both Kakuban and Dōhan both show, and the writer has also utilized this language to describe the miraculous mountain. *The Sutra of Visualization on the Buddha of Measureless Life* is significant for both the capacities for visualizations and for the categories of rebirth it presents, and offers a remarkable program of salvation even for those reborn at the very lowest grade as result of their myriad evil acts. The sutra and the nine grades were concerned with the moment of being met at death by Amida and his entourage, and escorted to a posthumous place. It had been of interest in Japan from as early as the ninth century.[417] The *Kōyasanki* adapted the framework of ideas about categories and destiny and the framework now hosts Daishi as a "guide," Daishi *as* Miroku, and Kōyasan as the immanent pure land of rebirth. Kōbō Daishi had been regarded as an Amida-like figure since the eleventh century. He was combined in chants Kannon and

[416] *Kōyasan Ki*, in Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi shū*.

[417] Jacqueline L. Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan* (Kuroda Studies in East Asian Buddhism) (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 45.

Seishi, ordinarily Amida's attendants, as Hinonishi has shown.[418] And the *Takusenki* mention of the kami accompanying monks to Tusita suggests their assistance in this Amida-like configuration with Kōbō Daishi at center. The immanence of the pure land *as* Koyasan is explained in the same text as simply an example of the non-duality that characterizes all phenomena. Since the sacred and the profane are non-dual, so too is there no gap between a pure land and a defiled one: "Those who live on this mountain, they will all be reborn in a paradise [pure land]. The meaning of *mikkyō* is the "equality of the three secrets"[419] and that self-power and other-power need not be discussed. Profane and sacred are indivisible and there is no gap between the pure land and the defiled land." [420]

Significantly, in the first *Koyasanki* excerpt, the kami (Niu Myōjin) also has a role as an intermediary and protector. The language is similar to that used in the *Hiki* and the inscription; the same episode evoked, and the same message conveyed. The *Shasekishū* gives an explanation of the unusual merging of Miroku and Amida faiths demonstrated by *Kōyasanki*:

> The esoteric tradition considers that Amida's Pure Land (*an'yō*) and the Tusita Heaven are overt names for the land of Esoteric Grandeur of the Lotus Womb (*mitsugon kezo*). And so, the Lotus Womb is like petals, and Mitsugon is the Lotus Seat. When the petals and the lotus seat are joined together there is still a distinction between petals and seat, provisional and actual fruit, the thing and its function. Even if the Pure Land is one, there are expedient forms. It is customary to identify Maitreya with Mahavairocana of the Matrix World and Amida with the

[418] Hinonishi Shinjō, "The Hogo (Treasure Name) of Kōbō Daishi and the Development of Beliefs Associated with it," (trans. William Londo), *Japanese Religions* 27.1 (2002), 5-18.

[419] *Sanmitsu byōdō* 三密平等 refers to the identification of mind, body and speech of esoteric practitioner to the buddha or other being that is the focus of a ritual.

[420] *Kōyasan ki* (Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi shū*).

> Mahavairocana of the Diamond World Mandala. But the Mahavairocana of this dual aspect is a single reality, as are Maitreya and Amida.[421]

Mujū collapses the distinction between Miroku and Amida by drawing on the indivisibility of the Mahavairocana of the Matrix (Womb) World and the Diamond World. The esoteric *Mitsugon kezō* 密厳花蔵 world was believed to be the pure land of Dainichi Nyorai (Mahavairocana); Mujū sees Amida's Pure Land and Maitreya's Tusita Heaven as simply the exoteric words used for this land. Finally, the *Shasekishū* can also shed light on notions around the attainment of salvation even while neglecting precepts and disciplines - with *dharani*, and here again the preoccupation with levels of ability in a practitioner is prominent:

> The *dharani* should be steadfastly respected and believed in. It is not difficult event for those of dim capability to maintain the *ichi-ji dharani*. If they have the essence even those with heavy transgressions can easily hear it. Even if you are weak in visualization, with the power of *kaji*, reaching the threshold of enlightenment cannot be doubted, and even if you are lazy about keeping precepts and doing the disciplines, because of the virtues of dharani, you can request salvation [liberation].

Much is comparable here to Niu's oracle: salvation that is adaptable to people of various capabilities or burdens, whether those be heavy transgressions, the ability to visualize, or the ability to keep the precepts and to practice disciplines. The importance of chanting *dharani* is also common to both texts. The *Shasekishū* was written between 1279 and 1283, and its author had spent time at Kōyasan after 1263. This is not to siggest a direct link between the ideas he expressed and the currents of thought at Kōyasan but viewed

[421] Morrell's translation with my amendments. Morell, *Sand and Pebbles*, 117.

against the episodes and explanations his work offers, the content of the inscription on the painting of Niu Myōjin seems to in conformity with some norms of the period regarding transgressions and precept-breaking, and the inscription on the painting of Kariba Myōjin can be interpreted in a similar way.

A text related to this oracle, and presumably its source, is found in the *Koyasan hiki,* [422] The earliest surviving copy of this is of 1345 but it ascribed its own origins as being in a (mystical) "perception" (*kantoku*) by Meizan (明算, (1021-1106) through Kukai's leading disciple, Shinzen (真然) to whom it had originally been transmitted by the founder as a set of oral transmissions. Meizan was the founder of the Chūin-ryū which posited itself as the most legitimate branch of the many Shingon branches of the period, since he claimed it extended back most directly to Kūkai whose residence at Kōyasan was the Chūin hermitage. In the 13th century, Meizan, with another monk named Kishin, was also seen as the reviver of Kōyasan, which had fallen into disrepair. Chūin-ryū's claims to such a straight and faithful lineage is certainly in line with the claims we find in the paintings so far: the donation of mountain land to Kūkai; the attribution of the image of Kariba Myōjin to an encounter with an artistic Kūkai; and the origin of one of the inscriptions in the "Last Testament" of Kūkai. Moreover, during the 13th century, the Chuin branch were consolidating their power, and the *Kōyasan Hiki* was presented as one of their most sacred texts.[423] It is also thought highly likely to have, in reality, been compiled by Myōchō (明), a

[422] This is printed in Abe 1999, 346-361, and Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 88-101.

[423] See Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 88-101.

Chūin-ryū disciple of the 13th century.[424] Therefore, the discovery of a text that was important to the Chūin-ryū as having an indisputable relationship to the paintings supports the idea that these paintings themselves may have originally been connected to this branch, rather than to the whole of the temple community of Kōyasan. Moreover, this the Chūinryū branch members were occupying powerful administrative positions at Kōyasan at this time, they themselves would have been the ones dealing with land claim litigation. The related text places the text in context which helps to clarify its meaning. It was part of an account of a vision experienced by Shinzen (真禅; the name uses Chinese characters which differ from those of Shinzen, Meizan's disciple (?-1145)), also known posthumously, and in this text, as Nyohō Shōnin. Clearly, as this Shinzen lived long after Kūkai, the oral transmission in the short account as described in the *Koyasan hiki* attests to the accepted view that this work is a collection (like many of the Chūinryū sacred texts) of oral accounts regarded as passed-down teachings. This Shinzen was a student of Meizan, and may have transmitted his experience to him.

It is connected to that other oracle because it was delivered not to Shinzen, but to Kūkai. It refers to the land conferred on Kūkai, and then states that after his death, a "messenger" will continue to be present among the monks living at Koyasan until the arrival of Maitreya – upon whose descent from his place in Tosotsuten heaven Kūkai was thought also to emerge and once more be with his followers. These must have been considered, during the thirteenth century at least – and by those responsible for the creation of these paintings, the two most important oracles of Niu Myojin. Certainly another

[424] See Abe 1999, 346-361.

significant aspect of the content of the second one is the discipline, in terms of observing the Buddhist precepts, that it must have been intended to encourage. One more document, this one dated internally to 1145 (which happens to be the date of Shinzen's death) but in fact an Edo period copy,[425] also related Shinzen's vision. It is entitled *Regarding the Manifestation of Niu Myojin* (*Niu Myojin on yogo no koto*), and differs only slightly from the *Koyasan Hiki* version.

Furthermore, the striking appearance which is elaborated on in the *Hiki* is reflected not in the Kongōbuji paintings at all, but in an Edo period painting (Fig. 10) kept at another Kōyasan temple, Myōō'in (明王院) which had been the residence of Shinzen. The painting is clearly a copy of an older one.[426] It shows Niu Myōjin clad in opulent Chinese style clothes, with an elaborate headpiece. She is descending cloud-borne to the seated monk who, deep in a meditative practice, is counting on his rosary and is perhaps meant to be gazing at her, though the painter's technique does not allow for the figures to be arranged so that this can be made obvious. Two Edo period histories of Kōya-san state specifically that depictions of the kami are based on Shinzen's vision. In the Myōō'in temple section in the 1672 *Tsūnenshu*, the reader is told, "up until now, when the decorative pictures of the venerable kami's body are respectfully made, they are [based on] the appearance of that time [of Shinzen's vision]."[427] In the above-mentioned *Yasan myōreiki* too, "Even now, when that kami shadow is respectfully depicted, it is without exception based on the picture

[425] This document was viewed in 2011 at the library of Kōyasan University, where it is kept.

[426] As indicated by illogical errors (such as the leg of a table of offerings painted on top of the hem of a monk's robe).

[427] *Tsūnenshu*, 121.

of this monk's vision [*kanken* 感見]." The iconography of Niu Myōjin is, like that of Kariba Myōjin, traced to a mystical encounter with the kami.

In the thirteenth century a number of new iconographies appear for both Kariba Myōjin and for Niu Myōjin – and they all, almost without exception, have continued to co-exist up to the present day. The origin of this standing Niu Myōjin in her Chinese robes is to be found in a *Shisha mandara* (四社曼荼羅 *Four Shrines Mandara*) showing Niu Myōjin in this attire, and posed on a speedy cloud with Kariba Myōjin by her side in military gear. It also shows two other kami who had been imported to Kōyasan by Gyōshō Shōnin, the Amano inju. These new appearances were based on yet another mystical experience, written down by their astonished witness, Yūshin of *Takusenki*. On the occasion of the second Mongol attack on Japan, in 1281, the doors of the kami shrines mysteriously opened on their own, accompanied by a thunderous rumble, the kami ascended and disappeared – departing for the coast where they would defend Japan from invasion. After this miracle, the shrine was awarded a higher ranking by the military court.[428] The attire reflects the powerful military capacity of the kami.

One aspect of the iconography of Niu Myōjin mentioned in texts that remains puzzling is the description of her messenger (*shisha* 使者) as having horns (or antlers), and (as sometimes described) donning a fur. Both *Hiki* and *Tsūnen* relate the horns. *Hiki* only the horns, but *Tsūnen* mentions hair, which Hinonishi explains indicates an animal.[429] It

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[428] See Wakayama kenritsu hakubutsukan eds., *Amano no rekishi to geinō: Niutsuhime jinja to Amano no meihō tokubetsuten* 天野の歴史と芸能～丹生都比売神社と天野の名宝特別展 (Wakayama: Wakayama kenritsu hakubutsukan 和歌山県立博物館, 2003), 96-97.

[429] *Yasan Myōreishū* (毛や角が生えた獣のこと), 8.

appears in no other known texts or practices related to this kami. However, deer were prized among animals as sacred (the kami of Kasuga jinja has the form of a deer) and this, or an antelope may have been Niu Myōjin's form or her animal familiar. Deer, as well as *kamoshika* (serow antelope) populated the mountains round Kōyasan. There may even have been a Buddhist precedent for the kami's animal form, which is related to pan-Asian narratives concerned with conversion. In the Pali *Mahāvaṃsa*, King Asoka's arhat son Mahinda flies to Missaka mountain peak (in present day Northern Sri Lanka) where he preaches to the Lankan king in order to convert him and his entourage of forty thousand to Buddhism. Since the king is on a hunting trip, the local mountain deva adopts the form of a stag in order to entice him. Given that Niu Myōjin's vow is that her "messenger" adopt such an appearance, and practice Buddhism until Maitreya returns, makes it possible to conjecture that this indeed may have been a metaphorical image of expedient means for enticing people to the teachings, especially in a mountain context. However, just how familiar this story was to Japanese religious practitioners and producers of its culture, let alone Shingon monks who circulated this *engi* is unclear and so this animalistic image remains something of a curious mystery. The horned and furred manifestation of Niu Myōjin does not seem to appear elsewhere.

Entirely new iconography appears in the Muromachi period for both Kariba and Niu Myōjin. The former appears in white with a black *eboshi* hat; the latter as, once more, in Chinese clothing and carrying a lantern. Kariba's transformation is linked to the visions of Dōhan, and Niu's to that of Yūkai. Both visionary experiences occur during periods of doctrinal study, giving the two kami firm connections to scholarship at Kōyasan. These developments will be discussed in Chapter 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 6

Reading "Daishi Myōjin": Kōbō Daishi as Patriarch, Buddha, and Kami

1. *The apotheosis of the founder and the Pure Lands of Kōyasan*
2. *Neglect of the subject*
3. *Daishi Myōjin in contractual vows and curses*
4. *The development of Daishi Myōjin*
5. *Vocal patterns: Daishi Myōjin in the world of chanting*

Introduction

In the sixth section of a group of sections designated "extremely secret," the following passage appears under the title "Naming" in the *Takusenki*:

> This is an interpretation of the four characters, Daishi Myōjin 大師明神. *Dai* is Keika 恵果, *Shi* is Daishi 大師, *Myō* is Niu 丹生, *Kami* is Kōya 高野. According to this, the four characters Daishi Myōjin are the most secret mantra. In one's daily life one should put it in one's heart [?] and chant it. Also, when one has fear in the evil world, and when one last closes one's eyes [at death], one should chant this Myōgō Shingon.[430] Dwelling inside the *ban* character, four *a* characters are written, these are the four characters of the name.[431] [It is] an extremely deep and supreme mantra. With a focused heart [this] should be believed, accepted and observed [kept].

[430] "Name mantra."

[431] I.e. "Daishi Myōjin" has the same meaning as these four Sanskrit characters.

The short passage describes the character of the kami that delivered the oracle at Henmyō'in. It is an amalgamate of two Shingon patriachs—Keika, the teacher of Kūkai, and Kūkai (or Kōbō Daishi)—with the two kami of Kōyasan, Niu and Kōya (Kariba). It is both patriarch and kami. The name itself is lifted from the entity and focused upon as a "most secret" "name mantra" to be chanted not only constantly, but as a special protection against evil, and also at death. In other words, it is offered as preeminent, despite a variety of chants and numerous mantras being used at Koyasan at the time, including one devoted to Kobo Daishi, and the *nenbutsu* for Amida. The name is given a visual form as a mandala, with four *a* syllables signifying the womb world within one *ban*, indicating the diamond world. This kami/chant was not unique. This amalgamate kami appeared within the associative paradigm of *honji-suijaku* with which the scholar monks inventively engaged, with varying (often co-existent) relations to both buddhas and other kami. It was akin in many ways to both Kasuga Daimyōjin (at Kasuga-Kōfukuji) or Sannō (Mountain King) at Hieizan, and expressed, like Sannō as a "Buddhist" invocation: Namu Daishi Myōjin. This kami though, gave way and receded from worship, and from record, just as mysteriously as it had appeared. In fact, when the author of *Yasan Myōreishū* cited *Takusenki* in a note on the Shushō-e of Kōyasan, he omits the term "Daishi Myōjin." The *Takusenki* article is as follows: "At this mountain's shushō,[432] starting with Daishi Myōjin and then all the deities, they attend and manifest themselves. Japan's most important prayer, this is a service for peace at the temple(s)."[433] Oddly, the *Yasan* author, whilst

[432] *Shushō-e* 修正会: a ceremony held to pray for the prosperity of the realm, from the first day of the first month for three days or seven days.

[433] *Takusenki*, 1:27.

almost precisely quoting the article he cites from the *Takusenki*, alters the part related to "Daishi Myōjin," writing: "Starting with Daishi and then all the various deities (*shoshin* 諸神)….". This may indicate that by the time *Yasan* was written, Daishi Myōjin had already faded from Kōyasan as an active, acknowledged, and worshipped presence, and the writer assumed Daishi and Myōjin signified two separate things, despite the detailed explanation of Daishi Myōjin as an amalgamated entity (quoted above) being available in a later section of the very text the writer was likely culling information from. He does not cite *Takusenki* as his source, but only "a takusen" but because the language is almost identical we can suppose he copied from the record itself or from a text extracted from the record (because awareness of Daishi Myōjin is described as an amalgamate kami is missing in his rendering).[434] Why did Daishi Myōjin as a distinct object of worship appear, and why did he vanish?

1. The apotheosis of the founder and the Pure Lands of Kōyasan

By the Kamakura period, the figure of the founder had assumed at least two personas and depending on context is generally referred to in historical materials as either Kūkai or Kōbō Daishi. The latter is a posthumous title awarded by Emperor Daigo in 921 and while being properly an honorific ("Dharma-Spreading Great Teacher") it came to signify a transcendental being in a state of continual samādhi (入定 *nyūjō*) rather than a purely "historical" personage. This conception of Kūkai first developed in the tenth century and it

[434] It should be noted that Abe (*Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*) notes that one part of the record was entitled "Go- Takusenki"); the title may not have been fixed.

has continued up to the present day.[435] It was in connection with the bestowal of this title that a faith called *nyūjō rushin shinkō* ("faith in the continually meditating remaining body," commonly shortened to *nyūjō shinkō*) developed and, as explored below, it did so in tandem with faith in Kōyasan as a Pure Land (*Kōyasan jōdo shinkō*). To award the prestigious title, Kangen, head of Tōji and Daigoji as well as Kōyasan, apparently entered the stone structure called Okuno'in within which Kūkai had been interred. Finding him in a state of meditation, he bathed and re-robed him. It is said that Kangen had a vision of the founder as he walked away from the tomb, who assured him he was ever present for all beings. It seems that it was from around this time that Kōbō Daishi began to be conceived of as accessible in some sense to aid sentient beings, and that a cult of Kōyasan as a sacred site concomitantly developed. The presence of Kōbō Daishi is a key feature in the pilgrimage practice around Shikoku (although the idea that he accompanies the pilgrim (*dōgyō ninin* 同行二人) appears at earliest in text in the sixteenth century.[436] Another viewer of the tomb-dweller was the previously mentioned statesman Fujiwara no Michinaga, whose visit triggered a trend of Fujiwara pilgrimages. Kōbō Daishi was (and still is) provided with food offerings at Okuno'in by a specially appointed monk, the *yuina* (維那). The deification of Kūkai began in the early tenth century among the nobility and with the production of hagiographies, spreading through a wider swathe of social sectors in the eleventh, but the earliest account of Kūkai's death as described as a *nyūjō* (emphasizing

[435] Matsumoto Akira 松本昭, *Kōbō Daishi nyūjō setsuwa no kenkyū* 弘法大師入場説話の研究 (Tokyo: Rokkō shuppan 六興出版, 1982); Shirai, *Inseiki Kōyasan to Kūkai nyūjō densetsu* 弘法大師入定説話の研究.

[436] Ian Reader, *Making Pilgrimages: Meaning and Practice in Shikoku*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 60.

meditation rather than passing) is found in the previously much-mentioned *Shugyō engi* narrative This text is as intriguing in its indeterminate historical origins as it is remarkable in its multi-functionality and influence (explored below), but suffice it to say here that its depiction of Kūkai played a significant part in the early eleventh century revival of Kōyasan. Hagiographies, such as that written by Ninnaji monk Saisen (1025-1115), contributed to the developing image of Kūkai as a divine being in eternal meditation.[437]

The shape of Kōbō Daishi's apotheosis after the end of the eleventh century is difficult to discern, since the focus on Amida practices seems to sharpen both on-site and in recent scholarship. Yet herein lies the key to the medieval developments of the apotheosis. For example, a triadic *hōgō* 宝号"treasure name" chant comprised of the names of Kōbō Daishi, Amida Buddha, and Kannon bodhisattva, is recorded as having been used at the moment of death by a Kōyasan monk in 1098.[438] This closely resembles esoteric and Amidist deathbed practices.[439] Since Kōbō Daishi's name appears where conventionally that of Seishi bodhisattva ("assistant" to Amida) would be, it seems that he was thought of as a bodhisattva companion of sentient beings on their path to rebirth in a Pure Land. Other *hōgō* chants for Kōbō Daishi were probably influenced by Amida name chants. Kōbō Daishi was further apotheosized as a type of *kami* as is observed in the appearance of "Daishi Myōjin" which is explained as an amalgamate of Keika (Kūkai's teacher), Kōbō

[437] Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, 95.

[438] Hinonishi, "The *Hōgō* (Treasure Name) of Kōbō Daishi and Beliefs Associated with It."

[439] Explored, especially, by Jacqueline I. Stone, "The Secret Art of Dying: Esoteric Deathbed Practices in Heian Japan," in Bryan. J. Cuevas & Jacqueline. I. Stone, eds., *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2007), 134-74, and *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*, 2016.

Daishi, the two tutelary *kami* of Kōyasan, Kōya Myōjin and Niu Myōjin. The new engi narratives produced by the Chūin-ryū offered elaborate hermeneutical schemes of Kōyasan as a site, with reinterpretations of architecture, natural features, objects and acts of worship. They also claimed that Kōyasan was divided into five Pure Lands, giving the specific span of land at which each could be occupied, among them Kongosatta Dai Fugen's Pure Land and Kannon's Pure Land. The many names given to Kukai reflect function, status, and connections with places and the gods related to those places.

The apotheosis of Kōbō Daishi is also linked to the belief in Kōyasan as a type of Pure Land, and both contributed to the development of a creative (and economically enriching) pilgrimage culture. A focus on Amida is evident from the example given above, but two other transcendental realms were strongly connected to Kōyasan in the medieval period: the previously mentioned Tosotsuten of Miroku and Mitsugon Jōdō (Pure Land of Esoteric Splendor), the pure land of Dainichi Nyorai (Sk. Mahāvairocana). The latter is the central buddha of Shingon and its key sutras, the *Dainichi-kyō* and *Kongōchō-kyō*; it is the buddha form of the principle of the cosmos within the Shingon scheme. Since the mid-Heian, Kūkai had been identified with Dainichi Nyōrai. Kōyasan came to be identified as well with Tosotsuten as a pure realm in the samsaric world (properly, Tosotsuten is the fourth of six "heavens" in the "world of desire" of Buddhist cosmology). Kūkai's own Miroku faith is apparent in his own works and this, along with the faith of later monks who helped revive the site, Jōyo (Kishin Shōnin, 958-1047) and Meizan (1021-1106), contributed to Kōyasan Pure Land faith. It was regarded as the place of Miroku's future descent (*geshō)* after all traces of the Dharma had vanished from this realm of existence, according to the widely familiar Buddhist historical idea of a period called *mappō*, during

which knowledge of the dharma in this realm was to become totally extinct. Miroku was to be accompanied by Kōbō Daishi, a notion that recalls the latter's "attendant" role to Amida in the previously-mentioned chant. The notion of being instructed in Dharma lectures under the "dragon tree" by Miroku on his future emergence in this world co-existed at Kōyasan with that of being reborn in Tosotsuten to learn from Kōbō Daishi residing there with Miroku.[440] Ethan Lindsay observes that a historical shift from one to the other is reflected in the records of imperial pilgrims.[441]

That this set of ideas seem to have co-existed with those of Pure Lands and of *sokushin jōbutsu*, an orthodox doctrine of Shingon Buddhism which held that the practitioner could attain Buddhahood in their lifetime (or "immediately") and in their own body seems puzzling. Although we may conjecture that different milieu engaged in and developed different ideas for a variety of functions, during the thirteenth century many written works by scholar-monks who occupied the highest hierarchical rungs at Kōyasan in fact exhibit profound engagement with the Kōbō Daishi "cult" and its Tusita and Maitreya aspects even while they studied, debated, and wrote learned commentaries on Kūkai's own texts. Moreover, from its beginnings, Shingon doctrine included ideas sometimes designated in modern times as confined to the Pure Land teachings. The monks at Kōyasan were familiar with and developed the systems of other schools just as monks of other schools often practiced ritual and studied doctrine beyond those with which their

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[440] Hayami, *Miroku shinkō: mō hitotsu no jōdo shinkō*, 94-103; Shirai Yūko, *Kūkai densetsu no keisei to Kōyasan: nyūjō densetsu no keisei to Kōyasan nōkotsu no hassei* 空海伝説の形成～入定伝説の形成と高野山納骨の発生 (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1986), 115-122.

[441] Lindsay, *Pilgrimage to the Sacred Traces of Kōyasan*, 127.

institutions primarily identified. In some cases, monks clearly defined the nature of their engagement with the propagators of other movements. For example, while Myōe (1173-1232) (who resided at Kōyasan for a period) and Kōyasan monk Jōgyō both opposed Hōnen (1133-1212), Pure Land school (Jōdō shū) founder. Kōyasan's Jōhen (1165-1223) penned *Zoku senchaku mongi yōshō* 続選択文義要鈔, a sequel of sorts to Honen's famous *Senchakushū* 選択本願念仏集. Influential and prolific scholar monk Dōhan elaborately developed the doctrine that Amida was the body and that voice and breath were, to express it simply, the unremitting recitation of Amida's name.[442]

The Kōbō Daishi cult and Amidist/Miroku ideas were disseminated widely by the *hijiri* active during the Kamakura period;[443] in this period the number of their communities at Koyasan significantly increased. Many stayed at Kōyasan intermittently and traveled around the country spreading Amida faith and Kōbō Daishi faith, and performing healing. Their narratives of Kōyasan included miraculous tales of Kōbō Daishi and they propagated Nyūjō faith. The idea of a miraculous founder and his continuing presence in a Pure Land in this world offered people a realm-wide soteriological refuge by which all could benefit. And in connection, *hijiri* collected donations for maintenance of Kōyasan as well as bones with offerings for their burial near the founder. In such ways, *hijiri* activities related to the economic concerns of Kōyasan. Allegiance to the idea of Tosotsuten seems to have been

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[442] James Sanford, "Amida's Secret Life: Kakuban's *Amida hishaku*," in Richard. K. Payne & Kenneth. K. Tanaka eds., *Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2004): 120-138.

[443] Gorai Shigeru, *Koya hijiri* 高野聖. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1965), (Rpr., Tokyo: Kadokawa gakugei shuppan, 2011); Murakami H, *Kōyasan shinkō no seiritsu to tenkai.* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 2009).

particularly strong among warriors. After the Genpei 源平Wars (1180-85), there was a vast increase in the number of warriors seeking refuge and retreat at Kōyasan as conceived in this transcendental way, and as a means of being close to the founder. Hair belonging to Emperor Horikawa (堀河天皇1078-1107) was buried near the tomb after his death, and in 1160 the bones of imperial consort Bifukumon'in were buried at Kōyasan. Beginning with the burial of Taira no Tsunemasa's bones at Okuno'in, the remains of many members of the defeated clan were enshrined at Kōyasan. The faith became more widespread slightly later, in the Muromachi period (1336-1573), and accounts for the large number of military grave markers in pagoda form (*kuyōtō* 供養塔) from this period in the cemetery leading to Okuno'in. People wished to be close to the founder after death in what was to become a vast forest cemetery and site of ancestral worship.

Some regard the confluence of faiths as reflective of a "dilution" of Kōyasan's "original" esoteric Buddhism.[444] Though this is an arguable and problematic assertion since it reinforces assumptions about "pure" origins, it must be noted that the "original teachings" of Kūkai were in fact at certain times recalled (or constructed) by those concerned with what they deemed heresy, and to strengthen lineage legitimacy. This was especially so in the case of the Chūin-ryū that has been discussed in some detail in the previous chapters. This branch eventually became the dominant one at Kōyasan but, as noted, it made special efforts to assert its legitimacy between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. But the orthodoxy that it promoted was a mixture of the practices described so

[444] Izutsu Shinryū 井筒信隆, *Sekai isan Kōyasan no rekishi to hihō* 世界遺産高野山の歴史と秘宝 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha 山川出版社, 2007), 94.

far, and as such the apotheosis of the founder and the related idea of Kōyasan as a Pure Land can be viewed neither as merely vehicles for spreading Kōyasan faith to amass funds, nor demoted in a simplistic way as aspects of "popular" religion.

The Kōyasan of founder Kūkai and his nephew Shinzen had died with the disintegration of its buildings and falling population of resident monks, but much of medieval Koyasan's construction efforts, rituals, teachings and myths harked back to—or evoked—the perceived origins of the temple complex. However, it did not attempt to reconstruct, but rather to form and develop itself as a powerful temple complex on a par with Hieizan and Kōfukuji. By the Edo period Kōyasan possessed vast lands and was the self-proclaimed "earthly home of bodhisattvas" and a holder of considerable land. According to Yamakage Kazuo, it was the enterprising activities of Kōyasan in the late Kamakura to the early Muromachi period (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries) that secured for its future this powerful status. But the revival was not only a matter of extending ownership of territory and amassing wealth. There were changes in belief and practice. Surviving texts related to Kōyasan attest to a site of lively intellectual activity, the development of ritual practices and educational reforms, and the splintering and flourishing of branches accompanied by a proliferation of new ideas (some of which were denounced as heretical) concerning doctrine, and the transmissions of teachings based on them. While the Amida *nenbutsu* was practiced and its significance debated, there was also devotion to the future buddha, and the realm in which it resided. The revival was also thanks to the efforts of proselytizing monks who promoted Daishi Nyūjō faith (faith related to the eternally meditative state of Kōbō Daishi), soliciting funds and draw pilgrims to the "sacred place" (*reijō*); a place particularly marked by presence of kami or buddhas. The overlap of

Kōyasan's esotericism and nenbutsu/Amida practices contributed to the community's growing prosperity. Kukai was also reformulated by notions about Daishi Nyūjō, Okuno'in, and narratives around the founder, which were connected to the idea of Kōyasan as a pure land. The nature of the incorporation of the kami into Kōyasan's doctrines and schemes of worship changed with the needs of the times. The appearance of a sacred entity "Daishi Myojin" seems to have been a combination of kami and patriarch, and was a product of the combination of *honji-suijaku* thought, Miroku faith, and the interaction between Pure Land and Shingon elements.

2. Neglect of the subject

This kami has been thus far largely untouched by scholarship. The reason for this lack of attention can accounted for in two (related) ways. One is the extinction of this kami, and the other is that there has been a simple misreading of the characters in many old texts that rendered them as representing two familiar entities instead of one single entity. Although the term "Daishi Myōjin" appears as part of a title in a Taishō period magazine, and although as a term it frequently appears in documents of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods and even a concise definition of it was given in the thirteenth century (cited above)—all of which would suggest it had currency from Kamakura to Taishō—that it was accompanied by any sort of faith, particular practice or had significance in ritual is far from clear. Furthermore, the term "Daishi Myōjin" as referring to a distinct entity (or to anything else) is no longer used at Koyasan today. Its existence appears to have been tacitly denied or ignored by writers of earlier periods who must have known of it, even while the mudra

transmitted by it at Henmyō'in was incorporated into important rituals such as the *Yugi kanjō* 瑜祇灌頂 initiation,[445] the regular worship of the kami at their shrine at Kōyasan,[446] and had apparently been passed down between generations of shrine priests at Amanosha. The procedures for the first two rituals were both re-written by Yukai, who also, as discussed, wrote about the Henmyō'in oracle and its accompanying text in several works. It seems that although the takusen-mudra has survived even into present day practice, the content of the takusen was forgotten. The "Go-Takusen In" mudra is also listed in the monthly worship at the shrine procedure (*Miyashiro tsukiji ryaku hōseki* 御社月次略法則). It is marked in the present-day manual as "extremely secret" and its form is only transmitted orally. Considering the content was frequently confused with that of other Kōyasan takusen connected to one kami or another may explain why the understanding of "Daishi Myōjin" as a distinct individual kami, as described in *Takusenki*, vanished.

It seems that the definition given in *Takusenki* is unique and sect-exclusive, to the Chūin-ryū, since it was a secret teaching, there are no other such definitions, and there was subsequent confusion about and extinction of the kami and its name. Nevertheless, that the term "Daishi Myōjin" itself, perhaps with a different definition, enjoyed currency is indicated by other evidence I will present below. It seems likely that the term predated the Chūin-ryū definition and that the sect members simply rationalized and developed it. Ignorance of it in the years subsequent simply indicate that the Daishi Myōjin as defined by

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[445] Yūkai, *Chūin-ryū koto*, 909-10.

[446] Entitled "Miyashiro tsukiji ryaku hōseki" **御社月次略法則** in the ritual procedure manual *Miedo miyashiro tsukiji ryaku hōseki* **御影堂御社月次略法則** (edition printed in 1990): the monthly rite of kami worship at Miyashiro opposite Sannō'in at Kōyasan. It includes the formation of a mudra called the Takusen Mudra (*Go-Takusen In* 御託宣印) which is marked 秘々 ("secret").

the Chūin-ryū remained within the confines of its burst of literature in the thirteenth century and did not become widespread.

3. Daishi Myōjin in contractual vows and curses

Abe claims that *Takusenki* is the first place that we find "Daishi Myōjin" and that every part of the text that mentions Daishi and the Myōjin should be understood as this amalgamate.[447] The issue is also addressed in Kōyasan Reihōkan's *Danjō Garan to Okuno'in: Kōyasan no kokuhō* in which it is stated that all practitioners from the level of *hijiri* up to scholar monks understood Daishi as a "Myōjin" and that this was simply rationalized by the kind of sophistry exhibited in *Takusenki*. This was because buddhas and bodhisattvas were believed to manifest themselves as "Daimyōjin" in the Mappō era. Miyasaki adds that in *Kōzanji Myōe shōnin gyōjō* 高山寺明恵上人行状, Myōjin are described as the saviors of people in the gojoku akuse (五濁悪世). Therefore, the chant "Namu Daishi Myōjin" should be understood as referring to the manifested body of Daishi in his role as a great savior during Mappō.[448] Indeed, the exploration of the inscriptions on the paintings of kami explored in Chapter 4 shows ample evidence of the belief in Daishi as a savior present, even wandering about, to help people. Miyazaki describes Daishi Myōjin as the "suijaku" form of Daishi the patriarch (who was already considered a bodhisattva of the "third level" (*Sanchi bosatsu* 三地菩薩). These explanations conform to what we have

[447] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 57.

[448] Kōyasan Reihōkan ed., *Danjō Garan to Okuno'in: Kōyasan no kokuhō*, 155.

found so far in other materials, but they differ from the detailed explanation given in *Takusenki*, and ignore Keika altogether, unless this text is simply sophistry and rationalization of pre-existing practice. On the other hand, the *Takusenki* does present Daishi Myōjin as a *suijaku* (though not explicitly) by equating it to the seed syllables *ban* and *a*, which stand for the *Ryōbukai*, or, in totality and by extension, Dainichi Nyorai. Contrary to Abe's statement, this is not the first time the term Daishi Myōjin appears, either. It can be found in many texts of the time and earlier, but it can easily be read as an abbreviation that signifies just two entities: Kōbō Daishi and (a/both) kami, a reading clearly different from the one explicitly given in *Takusenki*, which suggests this text sought to present something distinct and new. I would like to consider what kinds of texts or other materials we can find this term in and if it is possible to find a point (temporally, or categorically) at which Daishi Myōjin stops being used as a reference to two entities and starts referring to one distinct deity. We might also expect to find some contrasts as well as correlations between the term in ritual/sacred texts and *monjo* (administrative documents) where it is developed and then enters another genre where it can be used in a "practical" way. The mid-twelfth century *Kakukai Hōkyō Hōgo* 覚海法橋法語 by Kakukai (Dōhan's teacher) gives an example of the abbreviation formed of two parts (as opposed to a single distinct kami comprised of several parts):[449] "Were this insignificant monk to deceive you, then surely he would receive retribution from our Great Teacher [Kōbō] and [Koya's

[449] Miyasaka Yūshō 宮阪宥勝 ed. "Hokkyō hōgo," 法橋法語 in *Kana hōgo shū* 仮名法語集 NKBT 83.

Guardian] deities."[450] Since this is written in kana it seems clear that in this case Daishi Myōjin is intended to refer to two entities. The way in which the term appears here is significant, for Daishi Myōjin appears in numerous *kishōmon* (起請文, contractual oaths)[451] which have been collected in *Kōyasan monjo* 高野山文書 and *Negoro yōsho* 根来要所, the earliest appearing in 1134 and the latest in the fifteenth century. The origin of *kishōmon* is unclear, but their format had been standardized by the twelfth century. Here, in examining the way in which Daishi Myōjin appears—its position within the format and the significance of that—Satō Hiroo's study of this genre is of use.[452] According to Satō, the most common format of medieval oaths began with Bonten 梵天 (Brahmā), Taishaku 帝釈 (Indra), the Four Deva (or "Heavenly") Kings 四天, and the Sun and Moon 日天月天, and he explains that as the indigenous kami performed the function of protecting the Dharma just like the devas, their appearance in medieval oaths is not peculiar. They are, however, subordinate to the devas. Bonten and Taishaku (-ten) were incorporated from Indian mythology into Buddhism as a pair of protective gods, while the Four Heavenly Kings governed the four directions. Sato identifies the commonality between the specific entities appearing in the oaths as being that they are dwelling in *this* realm – present, visible, and

[450] Translation by Robert Morrell in *Early Kamakura Buddhism: a Minority Report* (Berkeley, Asian Humanities Studies, 1987), 99-100.

[451] See Satō Shin'ichi 佐藤進一, *Komonjogaku nyūmon* 古文書学入門 (Tokyo: Hosei Daigaku shuppankyoku 法政大学出版局, 1971).

[452] Satō Hiroo. "The Emergence of Shinkoku in Japan," in eds, Henk Blezer and Mark Teeuwen, *Challenging Paradigms: Buddhism and Nativism. Framing identity discourse in Buddhist environments*, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 29-49.

tangible, and hence capable of punishing, and he finds that these include both buddhas and kami.[453]

In light of Sato's findings regarding a categorical distinction between "saving deities" and "wrathful deities" we might also posit a reconciliation between the two types in the figure of Daishi Myōjin, for whilst Kōbō Daishi was conceived to exist as a post-Sakyamuni, pre-Maitreya figure of salvation of sentient beings, who was very much present and among the masses, ever-moving and ever-watchful, as an element of Daishi Myōjin he was also wrathful and punishing. This side of Daishi Myōjin's character is clearly on display in *Takusenki:* "Good things and bad things, as seen by Daishi Myōjin, are [each] discriminated. One should be greatly fearful and ashamed."[454] Elsewhere, it is stated, "Daishi Myōjin manifests itself at all the monks' residences three times every day. It observes and therefore knows things [*chiken* 知見]."[455] Like the gods and kings of the *kishōmon*, Daishi Myōjin is a governing force and therefore an arbiter of justice. Incidentally, Shinran and Nichiren, both active at the time in which the Chūinryū literature was produced, "concentrated the authority to save, punish and reward in a single buddha (Amida and Sakyamuni, respectively)," as Satō notes. It may be that Daishi Myōjin signifies a move toward a similarly all-purpose sacred being. I have examined the medieval oaths in Kōyasan documents in an attempt to trace and elucidate the character of the

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[453] Satō Hiroo, "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities," in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm* eds., Fabio Rambelli and Mark Teeuwen, (London: Routledge, 2003), 104-105.

[454] *Takusenki*, 1.23.

[455] *Takusenki*, 1.24. *Chiken* 知見 means, literally, "to see and to know" or "wise look"; in Buddhist texts it signifies the enlightened wisdom of things material and immaterial.

inception, development and decline of Daishi Myōjin. As a combination of patriarchal figures and kami, what kind of sacred entity was Daishi Myōjin conceived of as being? Satō's analysis reveals that the composition of the *kishōmon* tells us about the character and status of the entities and I would like to apply his model. Daishi Myojin is found in some *kishōmon*, but in others, Daishi as a patriarch 高祖大師 and Daishi as a bodhisattva 三地大聖 do instead. For example, a glance at the Negoroji *kishōmon* of a much earlier period - the 1130s - shows that Daishi Myōjin heads the list of punishing bodies directly followed by an assortment of others such as *Kongō tenra* 金剛天等 (various devas of the Diamond World) or *Ryōbu shoson* 両部諸尊罰 (All the sacred beings of the Two Worlds).[456] It must be noted that Negoroji was the stronghold of Kakuban and his followers, not Kongōbuji. But Kongōbuji used Daishi Myōjin in the same way. In a 1267 document concerning estate management at Totsukawa, the same combination of Daishi Myōjin and the devas of the Diamond World appears.[457] Of course, *Takusenki* had its own *kishōmon*, with instructions regarding the treatment and reception of the text it concluded:

> Declaration[458] and Oath.
> The various preceding entries regarding the oracle of Daishi Myōjin: at first, because everything and every statement should not be revealed, it was strictly forbidden [secret]. If the young ones, the evil type, if they hear these things, they will not know the deep meaning, and will laugh like birds at this, or think it trivial,

[456] See Sōhonzan Daigoji 総本山醍醐寺 ed., *Negoro Yōsho: Kakuban kiso shiryō shūsei* 根来要書～覚鑁基礎資料集成, (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu 東京美術, 1994), 51, 54, 58, and 60 for these specific combinations. Others with the same pattern are (but not limited to) 56, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 74, 79, 86, 87. All date from the 1130s.

[457] *Kōyasan Monjo* 2, 574.

[458] The *keibyaku* (啓百 or 敬百) is a reverent declaration to a kami or buddha.

> they must be punished. It is ruled so. However, if there are those who have the mind, the type who believes, if they hear these things, or if this is protected reverently, or if they believe and respect it, they will attain merit. Thus, from the 12th day of this past 11th month to the 6th day of this month,[459] what was shown and told, each article [message] one by one, I recorded according to my memory and made it into one scroll. I wrote this and put it in a transmission-certificate box [*injin-bako*]. It must not be spread beyond Henmyō'in. Except for one person who did not receive the transmission, this [box] should not be opened. If the people concerned with this sacred pledge are disobedient, the punishment of Daishi Myojin as well as all the kami invoked here [*kanjō*] will affect every pore [of their bodies].[460] The content of this oracle is adhered to, and reverently pledged to in the following manner.
> [Signatories' names follow]
> Kenchō 3, 12th month, 6th day."[461]

Sato notes that "all the Buddhist divinities invoked…. [in *kishōmon*] are physically present in the form of a statue or image at some specified place in Japan."[462] He suggests that without this "presence" they would not be available for invocation, and indeed the *kishōmon* above suggests as much in its reference to "all the kami invoked here," though by its inclusion it suggests a distinction between those invoked and Daishi Myōjin: an image or icon explicitly described as this kami has never been found. While the above clearly differentiates Daishi Myōjin from other kami, in other *kishōmon* if the term refers to two (or three) separate beings, the use of "Daishi Myōjin" seems also to conform to this in that Daishi was localized (in a state of *nyūjō*) at Okunoin, and the Myōjin were the local, land deities, also enshrined at Okuno'in and opposite to Sannōin.

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[459] That is, the twelfth month, as indicated by the date at the end of the document.

[460] This was a fixed expression for these oath texts. Every pore of the body is condemned to be infected as a punishment. The Buddha's body is widely conceived of and described in sutras and ritual manuals as porous too, except in the more positive sense whereby light streams from each and every pore from inside to outside.

[461] *Takusenki*, 2:52.

[462] Satō Hiroo, "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities."

In later *kishōmon*, though, the order of punishing bodies changes. A conventional construction (according to Satō's analysis, with Bonten and Taishaku at the top) appears and, it seems that because of this, Daishi Myōjin now had to be systematized within the cosmological order that the standardized format reflects. But here, Daishi Myōjin in fact disappears and the patriarch/bodhisattva Kōbō Daishi appears instead. In an oath text of 1335, for example, in which *goma* (fire ritual) monks and *dangi* (doctrinal discussant) monks vow to improve their behavior, we find no Daishi Myōjin but instead the following list of beings: Bonten, Taishaku, Four Heavenly Kings, All Daimyōjin enshrined at this temple, Especially Niu Koya, Both Daimyojin, the Twelve princes and One Hundred and Twenty [relatives], Sanchi Daishō, All deities of both worlds, Various Kongoten (devas), Protective temple deities (Goho Zenshin), and All Japan's medium, large, and small kami.[463] The Myōjin are noticeably separated from Daishi-as-bodhisattva (Sanchi Daishō[464]) and both appear after other beings. This seems to be a pattern. The patriarch-Daishi and the bodhisattva-Daishi are usually in the same position in the list: *beneath* the major kami, princes and relatives and *above* unspecified protective kami, or buddhas enshrined at the temple.

[463] *Kōya Monjo* 2.

[464] This was sometimes "Sanchi satta 三地薩埵." In Go-Uda's pilgrimage diary, testimony of Daishi as bodhisattva as present at a ceremony is given: "3000 scholar monks are assembled in the garden, and all of one heart. And, the Gongen deities of the two tutelary shrines manifest at this site through the hoden 玉殿 door… Sanchi satta in the same way … attends this ceremony."

In 1351[465] a *shōen*-related oath gives a similar rundown, again headed by Bonten, Taishaku, and the Four Heavenly Kings, then kami "especially Niu and Koya," the Twelve princes and One Hundred and Twenty relatives, and then "Kōsō (Great Patriarch) Daishi Henjō Kongō". Below him are the general "protective deities of this mountain" (Gohō Zenshin). There is, again, no Daishi Myōjin. Kōsō (Great Patriarch) Daishi Henjō Kongō appears frequently during this period, with no apparent specificity concerning the purpose of the oaths which range from estate concerns to those regarding monastic residences.[466] Henjō Kongō is the name given to Kūkai by Keika and was used in the "treasure-name chants" (*hōgō* 宝号), mentioned above.[467] The emphasis here is not on Daishi *as* a kami or Daishi *and* the kami, or Daishi Myōjin as an amalgamate kami (it remains difficult to say which reading is correct), but on Daishi as the "great patriarch." Also telling is what is absent: the terms "Daishi" (unmodified by *Kōsō* or *Myōjin*), "Kōbō Daishi" and "Kūkai" are never found in *kishōmon*. Clearly, these are too human; they are not deified forms of the founder. Accordingly, the patriarch form of the founder must also be understood as deified. In other words, this is patriarch—or ancestor—worship. Ancestor worship, whereby the ancestor is understood as a kami, is an important part of Koyasan's religious ideology. Among many other examples, elements of "non-Buddhist" ancestor worship rituals (*senzo matsuri* 先祖祭り) were incorporated from 1091, if not earlier, into the Shushō-e New

[465] *Kōya Monjo* 2, 313.

[466] See also *Kōya Monjo* 4, 349 and 370.

[467] Hinonishi, "The *Hōgō* (Treasure Name) of Kōbō Daishi and Beliefs Associated with It."

Year's ceremony held at Kōyasan.[468] Ancestor worship emerges in the culture of debates as well, as is discussed in Chapter 7.

Although a more extensive study of Koyasan's medieval documents is needed to support this, the format that Sato cites as the most popular one does not seem to have been adopted at Koyasan until the 14th century. When the popular *kishomon* format is adopted (with Bonten, Taishaku etc) Daishi Myōjin disappears. The texts including Daishi Myōjin (or with only Daishi Myōjin and no other entities at all) are almost all mid-late twelfth century. Then they more or less disappear and start to include Sanchi/patriarch Daishi and the two separate deities and other entities. It seems that Daishi Myōjin was not appropriate to, or could not be fit into the cosmological order of the standardized *kishomon*. Furthermore, when the composition of the *kishōmon* is examined, we can see that Bonten-Taishaku replaces the name Daishi Myōjin.[469] This suggests another commonality between the two names but developments and changes in the list of names may have been a result of various factors, including the purpose of the document and this needs further study. However, Satō points out that Japanese kami occupied the same category as devas (such as Bonten and Taishaku) as they shared the function of protecting the Dharma.[470] So we might conclude that Daishi Myōjin was less a Buddhist or holyman figure and more a kami.

There are procedures for a rite called the *Shiki-kitō* (四季祈祷 Seasonal Prayers), issued in 1347. In its seventh article, the threat of divine retribution is made. Unlike the

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[468] According to Hinonishi, "Kongōbuji no nenjūgyōji: toku ni okoromogae ni tsuite," 1992, 4.

[469] A relation is also suggested by a line in *Takusenki* (at 2:2): Bonten and Taishaku offer protection to Daishi Bonten and Taishaku are Dharma-protectors.

[470] Satō, "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities," 68.

patriarch-focused kishōmon, here appears Daishi Myōjin again, followed by the "sacred beings of the Two Worlds" and the protective kami of the mountain (*manzan gohō* 満山護法). This rite was for punishing tax evaders. Thus, it seems that Daishi Myōjin was related to popular belief and worship, and was emphasized in the *shoen* system and inter-temple administration as a way of binding native kami to Kōyasan's ancestral figures as a strategy of social control.

4. The development of Daishi Myōjin

It is possible that Daishi Myōjin developed out of the link between the proximate terms Daishi and Myōjin in the texts and came to be written as one word and then systematized as a deity. Just as Bonten and Taishaku, and Nitten and Gatten became standardized pairs in the *kishōmon* (and elsewhere) so too did Daishi and Myōjin. It is possible that from the paired-format in text (and in chant, as I explore below) a single being was born, and the single being was then explained and given further meaning by the Chūin-ryu writer in *Takusenki*. As Keika never appears in any *kishōmon* (though patriarchs are evoked in *kishōmon outside* Koyasan) his inclusion is likely a Chūin-ryū exegesis (*shakugi* 釈義). It appears that there was an attempt to anchor it, perhaps "own" it, with a description and explanation by one group but that this did not take root. Why would the Chūinryū include Keika in their definition of Daishi Myōjin? The Chūinryū as a faction, at this time, emphasized the original teachings, particularly in opposition to the Shingi developed by Daidenbōin. In fact, upon Daishi Myōjin is bestowed a status reserved for patriarchs in

Takusenki – as a source of essential Shingon teachings without which—according to Yūkai's explanation—a priest is apparently illegitimate. Where other written transmissions might acknowledge their ultimate origin as Dainichi Nyorai (followed by Kongōsatta, Keika, Kūkai and so on), here the source is a sacred entity that includes Keika and Kūkai (and perhaps, by logic, then Dainichi Nyorai). It is true that this is an oracle and thus by definition a form of oral transmission, but that it was, as a written document, called a secret transmission and treated as other *shōgyō* were and was furthermore transmitted as a teaching and accompanied by a mudra which came to be used in key rituals should not be ignored. And the veracity and legitimacy of the transmissions such documents recorded depended on their source. The oracle form is equated to an oral transmission and the recorded oracle is the equivalent of a written down oral transmission. In other words, the distinction between the human master/deshi transmission and buddha-kami/human transmission is collapsed - and the text types are also made equivalent. However, it should be noted that this process is not made explicit even though the tremendous development enjoyed by other analogic forms such as *honji-suijaku* were accompanied by much textual explication during this period. It could be considered nonetheless an aspect of this ever-varying paradigm. Further attention is paid to Keika as a manifest presence at Kōyasan (and to the Japanese community's links with T'ang) in *Takusenki*, and it is in conformity with concerns about transmission and allegiance to the "true" and "original" teachings that this attention might be understood. The dreamer Kakuson, whose nocturnal visions are reported in several places throughout the record sees, in one such vision, two "holy men," and Daishi Myōjin's oracle is an interpretation of this. Below is the description of the dream, followed by the interpretation of its details.

The manifestation this time was on the evening of the preceding second day of the twelfth month, in Kakuson's dream. That dream's content was, (he) visited Saizen'in[471] and at a hall at that place, there was one high priest. From his hand there was happily received a wish-fulfilling jewel, and it was received. Then, looking at the lake in front of that hall, the lake was full of pure water and floating there was a lotus leaf. Then, suddenly the water source rushed and it was noisy. [Kakuson] looked at this in surprise, and a red-colored snake emerged from the water and opened its mouth and attacked Kakuson. So Kakuson escaped by entering the building. There were two holy men (*shōnin*) seated in a place where there was a desk. One was wearing T'ang robes. One was wearing ordinary robes. [Kakuson] escaped to a place near them, and the *shōnin* spoke. "You should not be afraid. That big snake is the Buddhist teachings you all discuss… That practice should be observed." The door was pushed open. At this time, [he] watched fearfully, and that big snake became thunder and rose into the sky and left, going towards the east.[472] This dream was on the second day of the twelfth month. On the third day of the same month, the takusen was spoken.[473]

"On the previous evening you saw my true form. That true form is a big snake."[474]

"That the manifested form was seen in the lake of the place….it is guidance for you [toward a Pure Land]."[475]

"The two *shōnin* that helped you are Keika and Daishi. The one wearing T'ang robes is Keika."[476]

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[471] 西禅院

[472] A dragon typically arises to create rain. It arises in spring and descends in autumn with its dry weather to sleep in pools, in a snake-like form. However, the significance of the eastern direction here is explained at 2:33: it indicates Shochi'in (Dōhan's temple).

[473] *Takusenki,* 2:27.

[474] *Takusenki*, 2:28.

[475] *Takusenki,* 2:29「於御所之池現身事ハ、於彼導、御所之御共タリシ間、奉彼引摂故ナリ。」

[476] *Takusenki,* 2:30.

"The discussion of teachings this time [up to now] has pleased Daishi. He's extremely pleased."[477]

"The big red-colored snake is the color of Aizen Ō."[478]

"The departure in the eastward direction should be interpreted as indicating Shōchi-in."[479]

The passage is replete with notions about kami and patriarchs both common to medieval Japanese religion of the time and specific to Kōyasan. The notion that the original form of kami is a snake can be found in many *honji suijaku* explanations.[480] While white snakes were feared as it was thought that seeing them without sufficient moral purity would incur danger, here the snake is red, described at 2:32 as the color of Aizen, placing this account, like the text as a whole and as observed in the opening section in Chapter 2, within the realm of intense Aizen worship. But of more direct relevance is the viewing of Keika and Kōbō Daishi together, and the identification not only of Daishi Myōjin as snake, but of the *doctrine*–as discussed by scholar monks—as snake (汝等之此程所談仏法也). The proclamation by oracle that the founder, Daishi, is "pleased" with such discussion and that the practice of it should be observed, is also significant given the importance of scholarship

[477] *Takusenki,* 2:31.

[478] *Takusenki,* 2:32. Aizen does have a connection with snakes: the "bija Aizen"; the seed syllable is snake-like in appearance, the "Denpu Aizen" (田夫愛染).

[479] *Takusenki,* 2:33.

[480] See, for example, the picture of the *Reiki honzon* (main icon) of a Nihon Shoki kanjō ritual of 1513 in Abe Yasurō 安部泰郎 ed., *Ninnaji shiryō* (*Shinto hen*) 仁和寺史料: 神道編 Shinto kanjō injin 神道灌頂印信 (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku bungakubu hikaku jinbungaku kenkyūshitsu 名古屋大学文学部比較人文学研究室, 2000), 18.

to the producers of the *Takusenki*. The rising up and disappearance of the snake toward Shōchi'in links it to Dōhan, their celebrated scholar monk, and his residence.

I will now look at the interrelated issues of Kūkai's apotheosis and thirteenth century sacralization of Okuno'in. After Kūkai's passing, he was gradually de-humanized by later Shingon adherents and textual records were made claiming he was the rebirth of various Buddhist figures or the manifestation of various sacred Buddhist entities and kami.[481] Examination of this phenomenon will help towards an understanding of the contextual significance of Daishi Myōjin. It has already been observed that, as Satō proposes, deities appealed to in *kishōmon* to punish are those enshrined, or with a honzon and the human figures in *kishōmon* are those believed present and not in another dimension. My study so far indicates that Daishi Myōjin was primarily seen to be a kami-entity. In the middle ages the lantern hall in front of Kūkai's mausoleum was called a *haiden* 拝殿, a term normally reserved for kami spaces.[482] The place where Daishi was situated in this world was seen as a kami-related space and this process of location might have been seen as comparable to *chinza* 鎮座. Daishi had already been equated with Hachiman in the *Gyojo* and by Myōchō, *deshi* of Dōhan, but this was only one of a multitude of theories about Daishi's real body / incarnations / manifest forms that had begun to be formulated from the late Heian period. All of these theories are concerned at base with the possibility

[481] See Nakagawa, "Kōbō Daishi no honji to zenshin oyobi sono goshin," especially p.124. This is so far the most extensive study related to the reincarnations and *honji* attributed to Kūkai, so the subject warrants reexamination in the light of research that has been undertaken since then.

[482] As mentioned in Hinonishi, *Kōyasan Minzokushi.*

of presence in the here and now of sacred entities, and what has been called *yōgō shinkō* (影向信仰 manifestation faith) of the same period reflects the same interest.

Furthermore, an examination of the texts and the beliefs about Kōbō Daishi and the deities that the texts reflect/develop suggests that Daishi Myōjin developed within the context of the creation of Kōyasan as a sacred land and the resolution of the contradictions produced by pure land elements in Shingon doctrine and practice. The Chūin-ryū of that period centered around Dōhan were particularly active in promoting Kōyasan as a sacred land (this is clear from the kami paintings and the allusions they contain) and Daishi Myōjin may have been an element of these activities. Also, the Chūin-ryū were instrumental in producing new theories about Okuno'in, further sacralising it, and its sacred status was broadcast by *hijiri* who urged people in other regions to bury their ancestors' bones there. As the meaning of the site of the patriarch's resting place changed so too must have the idea of the patriarch residing there. The clarification of how rebirth in a Pure Land could be related to *sokushin jōbutsu* also centered on Okunoin and Kōbō Daishi's presence there. *Takusenki* and other contemporary Chūin-ryū texts pay attention to Okuno'in, accorded it new meanings and prescribed (presumably) new practices for monks to observe when they were in the region in which it is situated. *Takusenki* provides numerous examples: monks must, for example, "when visiting Okuno'in, *tabi* should not be used. Because it is the path where the kami are, one should be reverent."[483] Later, an entire

[483] 1:31. The kami were enshrined here in the past (and today) in a *hokora* (祠 shrine) as well as at the Danjō Garan central complex, which is one reason why it is said to be a path that the kami are present on. Kami are notably referred to throughout the record as having choreographed movements around the mountain. The matter of wearing *tabi* – or rather, of wearing sandals made with leather – in this area – is repeated as a reprimand in the Muromachi period *Kōbō Daishi Gotakusen* as well (though unnumbered, article 15: 奥院ノ道ハ表示アリ。橋又、サルイワレアリ。然ヲ不信ノ間、

section entitled “Various things at Okuno’in” is devoted to this part of the monastic site.[484] A teaching about birds, and another about sacred presences on the bridge resonate with the character of Daishi Myōjin as a patriarch-kami amalgamate. It reads as follows: “The two birds are messengers of Amaterasu. Also, they are the avatars of the two Myōjin. Also, Daishi Keika, also Fudō-Aizen-Ō. There are other explanations. Various things (heard) should be believed.”[485]

The birds as conceptualized as avatars of Daishi and Keika, provides another pairing of the patriarchs, a variation on the four-fold Daishi Myōjin. Of further interest, particularly in light of the use of Daishi in *kishōmon*, Bonten and Taishaku are said to protect Daishi at Okunoin - as if he is Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha: “When leaving [Okunoin] a bow is made at the end of the bridge.[486] Bonten and Taishakuten offer

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不知之、不浄ナル牛馬ノ皮ニテ作るタル草履ヲハキ参事、非本意。Article　奥院ェ参テ、ワラツハキナカラ縁へ上事、非本意　article　奥院へ参テ、冬タヒヌカスシテ、我カ前へ足ヲナケ出来、非本意。抑、汝等カ前ニテナリトモ人来テサ様ニ足ヲ投出テ物ヲイハ。。ヤ。ワカ可悦哉。). *Shunju* also mentions a monk’s visit to Okuno’in where his absence of straw sandals is noted.

[484] *Takusenki*, 2:1-7.

[485] *Takusenki,* 2:1. Birds as auspicious symbols were not uncommon at the time. Myōe observed strange ‘tranfigured birds’ (化鳥) in his garden and thought them to be those found in biographies of Kegon monks (George J. Tanabe, *Myōe the Dreamkeeper: Fantasy and Knowledge in Early Kamakura Buddhism*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1992, 91-92). They appear in other medieval texts concerned with Kōbō Daishi, too. Ito Satoshi remarks, in a study on the identification of Amaterasu as Kūkai, that this was a secret ‘bird theory’ and linked to theories about Nyūjō. When Daishi entered his meditative state, a pair of birds reportedly flew out of Ise shrine and praised the truth of Buddhism. Shinzen relayed this to Daishi who returned the praise, and subsequently the birds went to reside at Okuno’in. The *Kōyasan Hiki* reports this too, and further identifies the two birds as Fudō and Aizen). The Ise-related *Iwaya honengi* 石窟本縁記 (made previous to 1356) tells that every spring the birds give birth to a pair of birds at Geku (of Ise shrine) before returning to Okuno’in. Other references to this exist in Dōhan’s *Shoshin tongaku sho* 初心頓覚抄, Ryōhen’s 良遍 *Nihongi Daini Kikibumi* 日本記第二聞書 of 1420, and Gahō’s *Dado hiketsu-shō*.

[486] The bridge goes over the river Tamagawa.

protection to Daishi. From the end of the bridge, turn towards the people who are coming to visit, also, see them to the bridge. Hence, the bow."[487] The bridge leading over the Tamagawa (Tama River) to Okunoin is also given special meaning: it is "the neck of the dragon…. The four *giboshi*[488] [ornaments] are the four wisdoms."[489]

The form of the landscape of Kōyasan is portrayed in the *Takusenki* as "two dragons lying east and west, and two crouching tigers, south and north. The dragon's head in the east is Okuno'in. The dragon's head in the west is the *Danjō* [center of the complex where the pagodas, lecture halls etc. were located]. The tiger's head in the south is the great waterfall. The tiger's head in the north is Amano. These two dragons and two tigers similarly protect the great pagoda. It is said that the four tails together basket the great pagoda.[490] The two dragons are Nanda and Batsunanda.[491] By identifying the dragons as Nanda and Batsunanda, which are the Japanese readings of the Sanskrit "Ānanda nāga

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[487] *Takusenki,* 2:2.

[488] 擬宝珠 Decorations that adorn the balustrade of a bridge, and resemble *mani* ("wish-fulfilling jewels").

[489] *Takusenki,* 2:5. The four wisdom [Buddhas] surrounding Dainichi Nyorai: Fukūjōju Nyorai (Sk. Amoghasiddhi), Hōshō Nyorai (Sk. Ratnasamhava), Ashuku Nyorai (Sk. Akshobhya), and Amida Nyorai (Sk. Amitabha).

[490] The space is circumscribed in a specific way, but the four cardinal direction scheme by which Kōyasan is mapped is unorthodox: the Chinese one conventionally employed would place the tiger in the west and a dragon in the east, along with a tortoise/snake to signify north and a bird for south. Also, here territory is marked by the boundaries of Okuno'in, Danjō, the Great Waterfall, and Amano. Amano is notably an essential part of this *kekkai*-like composition; Kōyasan had always had a strong relationship with it but it significantly increased its efforts to control land and administration at the shrine during the mid and latter part of the thirteenth century. The "great waterfall" (Ōtaki) is on the route to Kōyasan from Kumano (Otaki-guchi, Kumano kaidō (on the *shōhenro* (小遍路 "little path")).

[491] *Takusenki,* 1:84. See also *Kōyasan hiki* (Abe, Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū, 257) for a similar description of Kōyasan as a "dragon and tiger" composition. The characters used for the dragons' names are 抜難陀 rather than the usual 跋難陀.

[rāja]" and "Upananda nāga [rāja]," brothers (and the first and second in the list of the "Eight Great Dragon Kings" who protect Buddhism) the area is again conceived of as fully protected by sacred beings, around the meditating leader, Kōbō Daishi. The "sacred well" (*akai* 閼伽井) at Okuno'in is, also, "the head of the dragon. Accordingly, when [Daishi] entered eternal meditation, the hall was necessary.)[492] As cited above, the bridge leading to Okuno'in is the "neck" of the dragon. Earlier in *Takusenki*, at 1:55, "the water-vase is a dragon. Dainichi's water of wisdom was poured into that dragon and Daishi moved it to the mountain. This is the *akai* at the altar at Okuno'in. This water has spread all over the mountain." An *akai* (Sk. *argha*) is a sacred well containing the water offered to Buddha, so the implication for the character of Kōbō Daishi here is clear. Also, "The form of the land at Okuno'in is [that of] the flowing wisdom water of the character *ban*. Daishi is seated inside that."[493]

The article at 1:25 reveals that "the water of this mountain is the wisdom water of great compassion [Taizōkai]." The *akai* here is referred to in *Koyasan hiki* as having been gifted from Keika, Kūkai's teacher. An *akai* is not only linked to water offered to a buddha, but also bears symbolism of initiation and of transmission, for it represents the "water of wisdom" poured from master to *deshi*. The akai is mentioned and explained with reference to *Takusenki* in *Yasan Myōreiki* (which cites *Takusenki* several times).[494] Here, the water is explained as having been brought by Daishi himself from lake Anavapta (Munetsuchi 無熱

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[492] *Takusenki*, 2:6.

[493] The seed syllable of *kongōkai* (Diamond World) Dainichi. The water is equated with the syllable and the latter to the shape of the lay of the land. The image of a sacred entity or object seated within a Siddham character is one shared with visualizations in esoteric rituals.

[494] *Myōreiki* 1, 35.

池), a lake of soothing, heat-free water at the center of the Buddhist world. "This well's water is always used in every major ceremony at the mountain," *Yasan Myōreiki* reports, "and the oracle of the protective kami says that all the water on this mountain is empowered [加持力] by Daishi and so it is the nectar and the wisdom water for all, and therefore one should wash one's hands and rinse out one's mouth with it, and all transgressions and sins will be extinguished."[495] There may be a reference to the many popular water myths relating to Kōbō Daishi here as well as the importance of sacred water to sacred mountains, and its healing properties that are invested with Buddhist benefits. It may also be a metaphor for Kūkai's true reception of the Dharma which runs from Dainichi into Keika and to Kūkai and then spread throughout the mountain. The presentation that conflates physical water and vases and sites with immaterial transmission is similar to the way Dharma (or a particular lineage) is presented as a fire that never burns out (this in turn is related to ancestral fire). The meaning here is that Kūkai directly received the teachings fully and unchanged and brought Shingon to Koyasan.

5. Vocal patterns: Daishi Myōjin in the world of chanting

Just two years after the Totsukawa *kishōmon*, mentioned above, the inscribed chant "Namu Daishi Myōjin" 南無大師明神 was written in black ink on the reverse of a small woven image of Kōbō Daishi. It is thought to have been carried by a fundraising monk – a *hijiri* whose name is also inscribed. It is also dated with the year Bun'ei 文永 6 (1269), 5th

[495] *Yasan Myōreiki* 1, 35.

month, 5th day. That this seems to be a portable votive or amulet-like object has led Hinonishi and Miyasaka to suppose that Daishi Myojin was used in proselytizing activities (*shōdō kanjin* 唱導勧進), and shows too that it was an object of worship for every level of monk, *hijiri* to scholar, and among laypeople too.[496] As a sacred land 聖地 centred on Daishi, who was furthermore seen as a soteriological intermediary figure between Shakamuni and Maitreya as well as a presence capable of punishment, twelfth and thirteenth century Kōyasan displays elements of belief and practice connected to Pure Lands. Concrete examples are in Kakuban's Daidenbōin, the *himitsu nenbutsu*, and various texts that were attempts to explain from the Shingon point of view aspects seemingly contradictory to it. Although in text, the term Daishi Myōjin appears most frequently in *kishōmon* as an invocatory punishing deity. But what role if any did it play ritually? There is a document at Kongōbuji, a list of names and institutions, which opens also with "Namu Daishi Myōjin"; it is written by Yūkai.[497] This, and the term on the *hijiri*'s amulet indicates it was a chant, and thus part of worship and ritual. As defined by the *Takusenki* explanation, it was not only a combination of sounds that are abbreviations of the names of patriarchs and deities key to the founding of Shingon at Kōyasan, it was made into a "name mantra" and therefore was ritually powerful. It is recommended in this Chūinryū text that the mantra is chanted constantly, and especially at one's moment of death, which is very similar to the practice of Amida *nenbutsu* chanting at the end of one's life, a *rinjū gyōgi* 臨終行儀. Such directions for deathbed practice seem to have begun with the *Ōjō Yōshū* 往生要集 by

[496] Hinonishi, "Sangaku Reijo ni matsurareru kami to hotoke – toku ni Kōyasan no baai," 478-80.

[497] Kept at the Reihōkan Museum at Kōyasan.

Tendai monk Genshin 源信 (942-1017). These was made within an Amidist context, a yearning for a separate Buddha realm and "loathing for this defiled world/longing for the Pure Land" (*onri edo gongu jōdō* 厭離穢土欣求浄土). Despite the focus in Shingon *mikkyō* on genze riyaku 現世利益, or "this-worldly benefits," and sokushin jōbutsu 即身成仏, its central doctrine of "Buddhahood immediately and in this body" it is clear from the discussion of the desires of monks at Kōyasan to visit Tusita, and from the ideologies gleaned from the kami paintings, that Shingon monks there also had pure land aspirations, and these included practicing deathbed rituals. *Notes on Practice during Illness* (*Byōchū shugyō ki* 病中修行記) by Jippan (實範 c.1089-1144)– [498]is the earliest to incorporate esoteric practice into a deathbed ritual: the pure land is presented not as a separate realm but it provides practice for *sokushin jōbutsu* at death. Kakuban, in *Ichigo taiyō himitsu shū* (一期大要秘密集 *Collection of Secret Essentials for a Lifetime*, written between 1134-43) likewise provided instructions in which pure land elements were cast within the doctrines of Shingon. In the interpretations of both Jippan and Kakuban, the Buddha was not distinct from one's own mind but "going" to a pure land was to be conceived as having an expedient validity. But most pertinent here is a deathbed ritual text by Dōhan, *Admonitions for the time of death* (*Rinjū yōjin no koto* 臨終用心事; 1234).[499] Here, the Aji-kan visualization is prescribed, but unlike other deathbed rituals, even those written by Kōyasan monks, it also recommends the offering of a vow before an image of Kūkai at one's death,

[498] Written in 1134. SAZ 2:781-87.

[499] SAZ 2:792-75. See also Sanford, "Breath of Life," and Stone *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*, 67-8.

requesting aid in reaching a pure land Here we see, then, once more an emphasis on depending on the patriarch. The chanting of "Namu Daishi Myōjin" at death, as prescribed by Dōhan (or Myōchō) in *Takusenki* then, fits into these other various practices, but it is distinctly Kōyasan-centred and patriarch-focused which accords with the Chūin-ryū's Kōyasan-centric teachings.

Conclusion

Given the paucity of materials that refer to Daishi Myōjin explicitly as a single entity, it is difficult to conclude how the term and the entity itself developed and was thought of during the medieval period. The concept of and practices related to Daishi Myōjin, the Chūinryū production of a site-specific literature and secret teachings concerned with the sacred land of Kōyasan, along with more popular tales of Kōbō Daishi, Pure Land elements at Kōyasan, the *hijiri*, the oracles, Maitreya-Tusita worship, Kōbō Daishi faith and that surrounding his "eternal meditation" (*nyūjō shinkō*) are interrelated elements and activities and constitute the picture of faith at Kōyasan during the medieval period. All concern entities dwelling in the present, on the land (for Daishi attends to humans in the period before Miroku descends, while Kōyasan became a *jōdo* only after he entered eternal meditation, and the *jōdo* concept flowered into the plethora of land sacralization techniques). It is to be expected that Daishi Myōjin is invoked as a punishing deity simply because Daishi is present. That is to say, the interpretation of Kōyasan's land and architecture as sacred along with the emphasis on the descent of – and even ascent *to* – Maitreya, the "waiting" aspect of Daishi in meditation who is nevertheless physically

present, and *yogo shinko* (in other words, a focus on the here and the now) enabled the punishing qualities of Kōbō Daishi to develop. An invisible and intangible figure or sacred being occupying another land could, it seems, never be invested with such qualities. The soteriological Daishi of Okuno'in and the wrathful Daishi in its kami-aspect were brought together in Daishi Myōjin. The fluidity of and changing nature of kami and kami worship at Kōyasan can perhaps be no better illustrated than by the case of the Daishi Myōjin.

CHAPTER 7

Something Seen in a Dream: Conversations with Kami as Preparation for Mondō and Debates

1. *The offering of knowledge: The history of doctrinal debates in Japan*
2. *Kōyasan's monastic education and debate system*
3. *The Rissei Rongi debate*

1. The offering of knowledge: The history of doctrinal debates in Japan

This section comprises a history of pre-modern debate in Japan, followed by a description of Kōyasan's debates, from early attempts through acolyte debates (*Chigo mondō* 稚児問答) and monthly debates to a fully established program which included its post-debate kami lecture assembly (the monthly *Myōjin-kō*)). This functions as a way of leading into discussion of how notions of Kōbō Daishi, of the kami, and of Daishi Myōjin were involved in medieval scholarship at Kōyasan. Buddhist doctrinal debate in Japan has raised much interest in recent scholarship. This includes studies, previously mentioned, by Takayama (1997), Sakaki (2000), Shizuka (2000), Tagawa (2000), and Minowa (2009). In English, Abe (1991), McMullin (2008), Groner (2011), Bauer (2011) and Sango (2012), have introduced and analyzed the debates of Shingi Shingon ("Neo-Shingon") institutions, Hieizan, and Kōfukuji. Education and matters of transmission in Shingon, specifically, have received attention from Rambelli (2006). Kōyasan's debates, however, in terms of

content, function, ritual choreography, and vocalization styles, have been scarcely studied in Japan, and not at all in English scholarship. This chapter then, firstly will fill this lacuna by describing the history of debate systems at Kōyasan. I will refer to these as "systems" because I include in my analysis not the debate event itself, but the training, rituals, processions, and other practices that are related to it.

It is clear that debates in Japan were not simply an opportunity to for monks to be intellectually trained, to grapple with doctrinal problems, to exhibit their learning, and to be examined. They did indeed provide institutionally for all these challenges, but they were also a way to advance career and manage institutional structure, and more, as this study will explore. Ritualized debate and lecture programs were important in Japan from the early Heian period onward in part because promotion within the clerical system was determined by participation in these as a matter of state policy. Debates on Buddhist doctrine had been performed at the imperial palace from the seventh century, but a decree of 798 issued by the Council of State included as requirements for monastic ordination three examinations by the Ministry of Monastic Affairs (Sōgō 僧綱) in doctrinal knowledge.[500] After ordination, ascent up the ladder of clerical promotion began, with participation as *kōji* (Lecture Master) in state-sponsored debates and lectures. Best known of these is the *nankyō san'e* (the "three Southern [Nara] Assemblies"; also called *nanto san'ne* 南都三会): the Yuima-e (Vimalarkīrti Assembly) (at Kōfukuji), the Misai-e (at the Imperial Palace), and the Saishō-e (Golden Light Assembly, at Yakushiji), that led to appointment to the Sōgō. These were established during the early ninth century. Of these, the Yuima-e was the most

[500] Sango, "Buddhist Debate and the Production and Transmission of Shōgyō in Medieval Japan," 82-83.

prestigious. The participants in these debates and in the Sōgō office were rewarded with recognition, political power (through control of other monks' careers and through contact with the imperial family and aristocratic clans who attended the debates), and landholdings (being donated by aristocrats to temples this was a mutually beneficial arrangement as the land became tax-free and the temple amassed estates, as previously mentioned). The debate arena centered on Nara, and the Hossō monks of Kōfukuji dominated it. The Hossō (Yogaćara) school in fact referred to themselves as "the Debate school" (*Ronshū*). In order to take part in the Yuima-e, one had to take part as a lecturer in the Kōfukuji-based Jion-ne, Hokke-e, and Hōgō-e debates.

The Yuima-e[501] and the Jion-ne both involved notions about patriarchal founding figures, and were performed ostensibly as memorials to them.[502] Established in 951, the Jion-ne is a debate ceremony held as a memorial to the Hossō school patriarch (Jp. Kiki 窺基 (posthumously named Jion Daishi), Ch. K'uei-chi (Tz'u-en Ta-shih), 632-682) on the day of his death, the 13th day of the 11th month.[503] Fujiwara no Kamatari (藤原鎌足, 614-669), the Fujiwara clan founder, is said to be the founder of the Yuima-e, and was identified with Yuima Kōji (Vimalakīrti). It continued after Kamatari's death as, at first, a

[501] Takayama gives a brief description of the key components of the seven-day procedure (*Chūsei Kōfukuji Yuima-e no kenkyū*, 5-6.

[502] The Jion-ne still takes place, and alternates each year between Kōfukuji and Yakushiji. The Yuima-e ceased during the Edo period.

[503] As recorded by Jisson (尋尊, 1430-1508) in his (previously-mentioned) collection of miscellaneous records, *Daijōin jisha zōji ki*, (vol. 124, 4). It began also at Hōryūji in 1216 (Kenpo 4). Hossō Buddhism was first brought to Japan by a student of Hsüan-tsang (J. Genjō, 600-664), Dōshō (629-700), but the later Genbō (d. 746) studied under Chih-chou, who in turn had studied under one of Hsüan-tsang's students, K'uei-chi (J. Kiki, 632-682). K'uei-chi, titled Jion Daishi, was the one for whom the memorial ceremony was held.

private Fujiwara *tsuizen kuyō* (追善供養) memorial. The Yuima-e took place over a period of seven days, concluding on the memorial day of his death (*kinichi*; *kijitsu* 忌日), the 16th of the 10th month. Regarding these origins, an account in Minamoto no Tamenori's Illustration of the Three Jewels (*Sanbōe-kotoba*, 984) has it that the recitation of the Vimalakīrti-nirdesa (維摩経 *Yuimagyō*) along with the commissioning of an image of Yuima Kōji was said to have effected the recovery from illness of Kamatari. It was Kamatari's own reading aloud of the chapter on inquiring about illness that had brought about the miraculous cure. It had the same effect on his son Fuhito (who revived the Yuima-e), and this was just as the debate between Yuima Kōji and Monju (the bodhisattva Manjusri) that the sutra records had returned Yuima Kōji himself back to health.[504] This is the *Sanbōe*'s explanation. In the *Vimalakīrti-nirdesa*, the enlightened layman only feigns illness, a play-acting that functions both to draw the Buddha's disciples to him for debates that demonstrate the superiority of Mahayana teachings but also to make physical illness a metaphor for Buddhist suffering and to reveal as its remedy the teachings of emptiness. The historical accuracy of these origins is disputable; Bauer has demonstrated that the choice of *Vimalakīrti-nirdesa* in the debate was for the purpose of doctrinal competition.[505] Yet the mechanism upon which the debate establishment explanation works invites investigation: the connected notions of text recitation as method of healing, and the suggestion that re-enacting an original debate (or rather, in its early days, a recitation or lecture) in the

[504] Tamenori's *Sanbo-e kotoba* 3, 28th story. Also told in the Origin Chronicle of Kofukuji (*Kofukuji engi*, 興福寺縁起) by Fujiwara no Yoshiyo (藤原良世, 823-900) and Tōshi kaden (藤氏家伝) the history of the Fujiwara clan compiled under the direction of Fujiwara no Nakamaro (藤原仲麻呂, 706-764).

[505] Bauer, "Yuime-e as Theatre of the State."

presence of an image of its superlative discourser could bring about a recovery of sorts. Groner notes that divination had revealed that the cause of Fuhito's illness was the fact that the Yuima-e was not being held.[506] This suggests that the assembly at the time may have involved beliefs common to ancestor worship that go beyond tribute to a Buddhist leader. The significance of Yuima (and of Jion Daishi), as well as the identification with a founder, remains and was culturally reinforced, preserved, for example, in the ceremony's *hyōbyaku*[507] and in its art.[508] It is also to be noted that it was a memorial ceremony. From 706 on—the year the Yuima-e was reinstated after Fuhito's illness—it was held from 10/10 to 10/16, which means it concluded on the day commemorating the death of Kamatari's death, as mentioned above (although, as Takayama points out, this schedule was not strictly adhered to; there was a suspension of the Yuima-e of around 50 years during the early 15th century.[509] This suggests that it was a type of the seven-day pattern generally common to memorial ceremonies. When tax land was given to finance the assembly in 757 by Fujiwara no Nakatomi, he noted in his edict that it was performed as a ceremony for recalling the "meritorious deeds" of Fujiwara no Kamatari, who was his grandfather, [510] though there seems to be at this time an increase in the purposes given for holding the assembly making

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[506] Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 130.

[507] A statement proclaimed at the beginning of a Buddhist service stating its purpose etc. Yuima-e *hyōbyaku*, in Takayama, *Chūsei Kōfukuji Yuima-e no kenkyū* (appendix).

[508] For example, the Kimbell Art Museum's mid-fourteenth century *Vimalakirti scroll used for a Yuima-e Service at Tōnomine Temple*, which shows Kamatari with Yuima.

[509] Takayama, *Chūsei Kōfukuji Yuima-e no kenkyū*, 5-6.

[510] Togashi 2005 (referenced in Bauer, 2013, 68). Bauer argues that the elevation of Kamatari to "Buddhist saint" and other involvements in the Yuima-e were part of Nakamaro's efforts to bolster his position at court during a critical period.

which are listed in the edict, and which, Groner suggests, made the ceremony a more "public" one, and one more concerned with monastic scholarship. Indeed, the *Shakke kanpanki* (釈家官班記) records that in 834 the triumvirate of debate assemblies, the *san-ne*, was named by imperial edict, with the Yuima-e counted among them.[511] Yet we find a strong and intriguing indication of the link between debates and memorials in Tendai monk Ryōgen's will as well (I will discuss the Tendai school debates related to Ryōgen below). Particularly striking is the *defense* of the form as appropriate for memorial purposes:

> For the eight lectures on the anniversary of my death, debates certainly should be performed. The people of the world may feel that a taboo should exist against such debates on the anniversary of a death, but my main practice was debate. My disciples understand this. If they feel that they should repay their obligations to me, then they should lecture and debate rather than perform other ceremonies. Through such lectures and debates, good is spread to all sentient beings; they cause the defilements to be cut off and wisdom to arise so that one will quickly realize Buddhahood.[512]

The Tendai examination system originated in the Shimotsuki-e memorial discussions on the Lotus Sutra for the Chinese Tendai school founder, Chih-I, set up by Saichō. Soon examinations were added, and then from 846, the Minazuki-e or Rokugatsu-e – the memorial for Saichō – was instituted, which was an exam system. Because it took place after the Lotus Sutra lectures it was known also as the Hokke-Dai-e (Great Lotus Assembly). Little is known with certainty about either of these. Ryōgen reformed the examination system in the tenth century. Groner notes some remarkable changes in the Tendai debates during the Kamakura period, which are of note for considering the

[511] GR, 426.

[512] Translation by Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 139, note 45.

development of Koyasan's debates, and indeed support the notions that debates possessed a particular performativity and a transcendental aspect. In 1214 the Minazuki-e exams were observed by an emissary from the court, a presence that galvanizes new developments. Several important developments may be useful to compare with aspects of Koyasan's debates. Firstly, the conciseness with which Lotus Sutra teachings and issues came to be formulated as exam questions was likely related to the development of *kuden* (secret oral transmissions). Secondly, the exams themselves came to be considered in a *hongaku* (original enlightenment) framework. That is, the candidate was a buddha "in his very body" (*sokushin jōbutsu*); the *tandai* was Sakyamuni of the Lotus Sutra, the hall was Jōjakkō-dō (Buddha Land of Tranquil Eternal Light), the scheduling of the assembly at nighttime was explained as being temporally advantageous for reaching enlightenment, and even the court emissary was assigned a transcendental existence in this reading.[513] There may also be a connection with the aesthetic appreciation of vocalization in Tendai *shōmyō*, and/or with the *kyogo kigo*, the argument that beauty in language – poetry – was permissible as long as it was in the service of describing or praising the Buddhist doctrine.

2. Kōyasan's monastic education and debate system

I wish to keep these ancestor-memorial aspects, and suggestions of re-enactments in mind as the discussion of Kōyasan's debates proceeds over the following chapters. What was the debate history of the Shingon school, particularly that of Kōyasan, and how did

[513] Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 143, notes 59 and 60. At Kōyasan, the contemporary explanation for the night-time during which the *Rissei Rongi* are held is that the darkness gives the kami enhanced hearing.

patriarch/founder worship and ritual-as-memorial figure in it? According to records covering the years between 658-1276 and 624-1142,[514] not a single Shingon monk was appointed as Yuima-e Lecture Master or to the Sogo. Yet the Shingon school at Kōyasan did have its own history of debates and discussions of Dharma (*hōdan rongi* 法談論議 or *dangi* 談義). Although the 1089 *Daishi Ongyōjo shuki* 大師御行状集記[515] records a number of debates as having taken place during Kūkai's lifetime, their origins at Kōyasan are conventionally traced back to 835, when the Shingon school was granted three '*nenbundosha*', by the court in response to Kūkai's appeal,[516] a system which allowed a fixed number of ordinands each year. However, it was not until the administration of the previously-discussed Shinzen (真然 804-891; Kūkai's disciple) in the ninth century that the bi-annual *Denbō-dai-e* (the Great Assembly of Dharma Transmission, which included *hōdan rongi*) was implemented, first at Tōji, and later at Ninnaji and Kongōbuji (Kōyasan).[517] From that time on, there were various kinds of debate practices, but the *Denbo-dai-e* stopped during the decline of Kōyasan at the start of the tenth century. It was revived at Ninnaji in 1109 by Kanjō (1052-1125) with Saisen (1025-1115), who was active in reviving Kōyasan as well, including the restoration of Kūkai's mausoleum. Kanjō was a

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[514] The *Yuima-e koji shidai*, and the *Sogo bunin.* See Sango, "Buddhist Debate and the Production and Transmission of Shōgyō in Medieval Japan."

[515] See Mizuhara "*Hōdan rongi ni tsuite*, 88-89.

[516] "Ruiju sandaikyaku" entry for 1/23/835, *Kokushi Taikei* 25, 75.

[517] See Takeuchi Kōzen 竹内孝善, "Kōgyō Daishi to Denbō Dai-e: Shinnen Daitoku sōshi no Kōyasan Denbō-e ni tsuite 興教大師と伝法大会—真然大徳創始の高野山伝法会について," in *Kōgyō Daishi Kakuban kenkyū* 興教大師覚鑁研究 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1992), 893-922. The *Denbō ni-e shikimoku* (apocryphal, but attributed to Shinzen and considered authentic until at least the twelfth century) describes the event.

major player in terms of institutional influence: he was *ichinochoja* (abbot) of Tōji, and thereby *zasu* of Kōyasan (for the two roles were occupied by the same figure at this time), but was also abbot of Ninnaji, Henjōji, Enkyōji, Enshūji, Hosshōji, Todaiji, and Saishōji (all Shingon temples in Kyoto and Nara).[518] He had accompanied Retired Emperor Toba on pilgrimage to Koyasan in 1124, and carried out an offering at Okunoin with *kengyō* Ryōzen at that time; he also labored with Ryōzen to reconstruct Kōyasan and promoted faith around Kōbō Daishi. Ninnaji became highly focused on Shingon studies during the Insei period. As discussed earlier, Ryōzen's Chūin-ryū line, inherited from Meizan, had flourished but he had been removed from his post by Kakuban. He had conferred teachings onto Nyohō Shōnin, who was famed for his vision of Niu Myōjin. And Ryōzen's line ran to Dōhan, then Yūkai. He was, then, a *kengyō* leader valued by this line of scholar monks.

The *Denbō-dai-e* assembly was revived at Kōyasan, though, in the 1130s by that very Kakuban, who in fact was one of Kanjō's disciples during his term as head priest of Jōjuin.[519] It is important to note the confluence of Kōfukuji and Ninnaji in the formation of Kakuban's education: the two were major centers of study and debate and had deep ties with Kōyasan. Kakuban was dispatched by Kanjō to Kōfukuji to learn the Hossō (Yogacāra) and Kusha (Abhidharmakośa) forms of Buddhism. During his time there, a hagiographical account[520] relates that Kūkai told his chaperone Kenshun that Kakuban had

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[518] Enshūji and Hosshōji were important debate centers.

[519] Retired Emperor Toba later became a great patron of Kakuban and of his institution, Daidenbō'in.

[520] "Kōyasan Daidenbōin hongan reizui narabini jisha engi 高野山大伝法院本願霊瑞並寺社縁起," by Kakuman (a priest of Negoroji) in 1292. Miura Akio 三浦章夫 ed., *Kōgyō Daishi shiryō zenshū*, 興教大師史料全集 (Tokyo: Pitaka, 1977), vol. 1. 3-43.

already perfected his study there. A manifestation of Kasuga Myōjin (Kōfukuji's protective kami) also appeared in a dream of Kakuban's, urging him to leave. He returned to Ninnaji, and later studied at Tōdaiji where he was similarly directed in a dream, this time by Kumano Gongen, to complete his disciplines there and leave for Kōyasan.

The *Denbō-e* established by Kakuban was a grand affair: the hall to hold this bi-annual assembly, *Denbō-dō*, soon became the temple *Denbō-in*, the project was supported by the Retired Emperor Toba, and each assembly involved fifty days of discussions and lectures. Daidenbo'in, as it came to be known, and Kakuban's other cloister, Mitsugon'in, were huge, were inventive, and were a threat to Kongobuji.[521] Disputes between Daidenbō'in (founded by Kakuban) and Kongōbuji (then the most powerful group at Kōyasan) made the regular practice of the *Denbō-e* difficult; in fact, as has been discussed, it would appear that the debates themselves, providing almost immediate economic profit to Daidenbōin, were at the root of conflicts.

Scholarship was once again revived by leading intellectual and debater Kakukai (aka Kakkai, 1142-1223), and doctrinal study and lecture/debates flourished under his followers. From the Kamakura period onward, Rengejō'in was the headquarters for *hōdangi* 法談義, discussions of esoteric *kyōsō* 教相 (doctrine). This is discussed in Chapter 2, but Rengejo'in's Denbo Dai-e (Great Dharma Transmission Assembly) like Kakuban's Denbo-e extended over a fifty-day period. The assemblies were attended by large number of monks from the different factions; Matsunaga notes that Go-Shirakawa's visit to Koyasan in 1169 was at the height of the animosity between the two and that it is thought

[521] Abe, "*From Kūkai to Kakuban*," 329-331.

that these "conciliation discussions" were instituted at his behest. At that time both groups attended in near equal number (there were 100 Kongōbuji monks and 80 from Daidenbō'in) but in 1194 a flare-up in conflict brought an end to Daidenbō-in monks' attendance and there were only Kongōbuji monks.[522] The impact of the exiles of some of Kakukai's most illustrious scholar monks on Rengejō'in's status and place as the main site of *hōdan* (discussions of the teachings) has been discussed already, but in 1272 Raiyū (1226-1304), school head of Daidenbō'in, revived the debates. Shortly afterward, however, he removed the entire institution and its members from the mountain.[523]

On the Kongōbuji side of the disputes and in debate development, of particular significance were Dōhan and Hosshō, who aligned themselves with the doctrines of *funimon* ("gate" of non-duality) and *ninimon* (gate of dual-duality (provisional). Dōhan established a debate in 1225,[524] and he instituted debate lectures in exile as well. Chūin-ryu texts laud him as a debate leader and debates are reported as having been performed annually before his portrait as memorials to him.[525] After the Daidenbō-in monks had left for good, the Denbō Dai-e nonetheless continued until 1504 though it was held on a more modest scale, over a period of only twenty days: it is recorded as such in the Kongōbuji calendars of 1269 and 1291.[526] It became much simplified in the Edo period as a result of

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[522] Matsunaga *Kōyasan sono rekishi to bunka*, 216. Toganoo notes, though, that attendance of Denbō'in monks seems to have ended long previous to the divisive discord (Toganoo, *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 101).

[523] Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*.

[524] See *Jōōshō* 貞応抄 by Dohan (T. 77: 2447).

[525] In *Dentōkōroku* 伝燈廣録 vol.6, (in ZSSZ 33).

[526] See "Rengejō'in Denbo Dai-e kishiki jōjō 蓮華乗院伝法大会規式條々" in *Kōyasan monjo* 2, 55.

the *bakufu*-backed Kangaku-in's hosting of a similar type of ceremony. The former survives, truncated, as the *Uchidangi*, and has taken place at Kongōbuji since 1890 (Meiji 23).

The period between Kakuban's activities and the final relocation of Daidenbō'in is one of fascinating tumult involving rivalry around debate assemblies and the patronage and power they attracted as well as disputes over the leadership of Kōyasan and how it should be organized.[527] The links between leadership of the site, hierarchy, and debates here are clear. I wish to draw attention to this because although the links seem self-evident, what we can understand here is that, firstly, the core of Daidenbō'in's power and image *was* its debates (indeed the name of the cloister clearly references them) and secondly, the focus on leadership and hierarchy required a legitimacy that would be provided by less-worldly means: inventive conceptualizations of the founder Kōbō Daishi, and the kami. Both the skirmishes between Daidenbō'in and Kongōbuji, and these conceptualizations, were explored in depth in Chapter 2.

Like other large temple complexes, Kōyasan provided education to boy acolytes (*chigo*),[528] and this included education in the form of debates. In 1291, the *Chigo Rongi* (Acolytes' Debate; later called the *Chigo Mondō*; also known as the Taregami [or *suihatsu*] ji mondō-kō; 垂髪児問答講. "long-hair [i.e. child/chigo] assembly") was established. It

[527] Yamakage, *Chūsei Kōyasan shi no kenkyū*.

[528] *Uki* 右記 by Ninnaji's Shūkaku Hōsshinō 守覚法親王(1150-1202) gives details of the daily life and education of chigo during the Kamakura period. T.78. 2491.

was instituted with the apparent backing of Ninnaji[529] and first took place at Amanosha in Katsuragi town at the foot of Kōyasan, and shortly afterward was relocated to Kōyasan. The establishment of the 1291 debate was just a few years after the kami of Amano-sha, along with Kōyasan's Fudō Myōō were credited with repelling the Mongol invasions. As a result the kami had been lauded by court and bakufu and promoted in rank, so the new Rongi at Amano-sha may well have been a result of increased prosperity and pilgrimage, for such debates were viewed by high ranking pilgrims. It should be noted that the Tendai school Minazuki-e had a "debate assembly" for young boys too, called the *Tsugai Rongi*, which were entertainments for imperial emissaries, though when this began is unclear.[530] In this, they play-acted the performance of Ryōgen at the Yuima-e. It is quite possible that the Chigo Rongi at Kōyasan was set up because of—and for—the increasingly illustrious patronage and pilgrimage by important politicians and imperial figures. The founder of the Chigo Rongi was Kaison 快尊 at Koyasan, who was requested in a dream by a messenger (in the form of a *yasha* 夜叉) of Niu and Kōya Myōjin to set up a Chigo debate in order to revive the teachings. Strangely, in the *Yabu meitoku den* 野峯名徳傳[531] and the *Mikkyo Daijiten* he is described as Yukai's deshi, as based at Shinnōin 親王院, and as having died in Bunsho 1 (1466) as well as the founder of the Chigo Mondo. Had the Mondō-kō been instituted in 1291, the connection with Yūkai is clearly an error.

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[529] According to *Shunju*, it was first held in 1291 under the patronage of the imperial Nyūdo Nippin 入道二品 (Dōjo Shinnō 道助親王 1186-1249) of Ninnaji. (However, unless the birth and death dates are erroneous, this would have been impossible).

[530] Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 144-45. We see, below, that chigo at Kōyasan were brought into the imperial visitor's presence when they performed their debate.

[531] *Yabu meitoku den*, vol. 2, 286.

The *Fudoki*[532] though, gives the above account, which aligns with the timing of the establishment of the debate. However, Shinnō'in seems to have a link with what is considered to be a painting used in this Chigo debate (see Chapter 7) and Shinnō'in did indeed later come to be the headquarters for this event after it changed form into a Mondō-kō (rather than a Rongi).[533] *Shunjū* records that when Kaison died, this dialogue-lecture was changed in terms of function to serve as a memorial ceremony for him. However, the first debate, referred to as *Shiki* [Seasonal] *Mondō-kō* in a document of 1291,[534] took place on the 16th day of the 2nd month (the 16th is a day reserved for the worship of these two kami) and again on the 27th of the 5th month as a Chigo Rongi. Ninnaji's involvement is indicated on the second occasion when then-resident of Kōyasan Shōnin Shinnō 性仁親王[535] observed the debate and awarded provisions for its upkeep.[536] In 1314, the Chigo event took place instead at Sannō-in at Kōyasan on the occasion of the pilgrimage visit of Go-Uda Hōō (Cloistered Emperor Go-Uda). Interestingly, it took place on the night of the fourteenth day of the eighth month, which was midway through Obon in this region of Japan (it extends from the thirteenth to the sixteenth). Toganoo reports that (it is said that) the emperor summoned the chigo participants to Chūin-gosho 中院御所 where he awarded them with lavish gifts.[537] The similarity with Hieizan's *tsugai rongi*, mentioned above, are

[532] *Fudoki*, 5:82.

[533] Toganoo, *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 143.

[534] "Shiki mondo-ko kishiki jōjō 四季問答講規式條々," Kōyasan Monjo 2, 115.

[535] Son of Go-Fukakusa 後深草. Go-Fukakusa was at this point a Cloistered Emperor.

[536] Toganoo, *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 141.

[537] Toganoo, *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 143.

evident. Clearly, it had become a prestigious event and a source of income for the community. The significance of the Chūin-ryū must be noted, too. Kongōbuji and the scholar monks of the Chūin branch previously involved in the troubles with Daidenbō'in now seem to have achieved supremacy. The chigo debate later changed form again, before ceasing in the Meiji period.

In 1300 the ritual procedures (*shikimoku* 式目) for the Kangaku'in 勧学院 and Shūgaku'in 修学院 educational establishments[538] at Kōyasan were established and these were supplemented in 1334 on the order of the emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐（1288-1339). This marks the full establishment of Kōyasan's education system.[539] Kōyasan's debates and other such assemblies, then, were taking place before the Kamakura period but were only properly systematized in the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods. The monthly *Sannōin Rishu zanmai Tsuketari Monkō* ("Dialogue-lecture (*monkō*) accompanied by the (performance of) Rishu zanmai at Sannō-in"; today's *Sannoin Monto Monkō* or *Sannoin Tsukinami Monko*) seems to have been started from between 1262 and 1333. The Shōō 4 (1288) Kōyasan *nenjugyōji* ('regular annual events') record notes that the *Rishu zanmai* had been practiced since Kōchō 2 (1262). Mizuhara draws the conclusion that since the *Monkō* does not appear in the *nenjugyōji* of the Bunei 文永, Shōō 正応 or Shōkyō 正慶 eras, as given in the *Fudoki*,[540] the *Rishu zanmai* was started before the Tensho era (天正,

[538] Constructed in 1281 with the backing of Hōjō Tokimune (北条時宗, 1251-1284). Matsunaga, in *Kōyasan sono rekishi to bunka* writes, however, that in 1380, Go-Uda'in ordered it to shift its two scholarly institutions (Kangaku-in and Kanshū-in, built in 1280 by Hōjō Tokimune) nearer to the central precinct and to centralize administration of them.

[539] See Horita, *Kōyasan Kongōbuji*, 193-194.

[540] *Fudoki* vol. 5, p. 74.

beginning in 1573). The *Fudoki* records, though, that the *Monkō* had been performed as an offering to the kami (*shinbōraku* 神法楽) from 1333 onward (Shōkyō 2).[541] However, because of the limits of records, the origins are very difficult to establish conclusively.[542]

Like those of Nara, Kōyasan's debates also functioned as a method of qualifying monks for positions within the hierarchical monastic system. For example, the *chigo* acolytes were known as 'the 'loose-haired' (*suihatsu* or *taregami*) (like the chigo of the takusen at Henmyōin), a word that indicates they had not yet become monks and thus had not shaved their heads. The mondō, then, was possibly part of the education offered at temples for boys before they officially entered the monkhood (though they also included children with no intention of becoming monks but who simply resided at temples) – though it may have been part of patronage-related pageantry as Groner suggests of the *tsugai rongi.* The monthly *Sannōin Rishu Sanmai tsuketari Monkō* was similarly bound to status, but for initiated adults. The aspects of this event most directly concerned with kami worship (entering the shrines opposite Sannō-in and performing rituals there) were the responsibility of the *Kengyō Shigyō Dai* – a monk of status just below *Kengyō Hōin* ('Superintendent of Kongobuji's headquarters') and the highest ranking in the resident clerical hierarchy of Koyasan then as today.

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[541] *Fudoki* vol. 4, p.79.

[542] Mizuhara Gyōei 水原堯榮, "*Kongōbuji nenjūgyōji* 金剛峯寺年中行事," In *Mizuhara Gyōei zenshū* 水原堯榮全集 7, edited by Nakagawa Zenkyō 中川善教 (Kyoto: Dohosha 同朋舎, 1982), 118-119.

3. The *Rissei Rongi* Debate

An even clearer scheme of promotion determined by participation in debates was/is operated by the Rissei Rongi 堅精論議,[543] established in Ōei 14 (1407). An account of its origin can now be found only in the seventeenth century *Shunjū,* and is couched in mystic terms as having been a response to a mountain kami's oracle. The reason for the kami's command is straightforward: that this debate be established to correct Kōyasan's failure to develop its scholarship and the idleness of the monks. The *Shunjū* does not relay extraneous information about ritual procedure. The presently used manual for the Rissei Rongi dates to the Showa period.[544] Other texts, though, in addition to the function of participation in the "*kenmon* model," give intimations of other origins and functions for the debate ritual, related to kami and patriarchal figures. On its establishment *Shunjū* gives as one of its sources a text called *Yasan kenbun shū* 野山見聞集 and relates the following account:

> The Daimyōjin manifests in *suijaku* form, and utters a takusen. "The monks on this whole mountain are lazy. Study of practice and doctrine has fallen into decline." I am compelled to ascend to and return to Amanohara.[545] [*Yasan kenbun shū* relates: Unrest between the Southern and Northern Courts has come about. The wisdom study of the mountain monks and the debate place for study of doctrine has gradually fallen into decline. And the worship at the shrines performed by the temple has fallen year by year into decline. At this time the Daimyōjin uttered a takusen. "The difference between the monks (black robes) and the laypeople (white robes) on this whole mountain is [just] the color of your faces. At this they were

[543] Also called the Sannōin Rissei.

[544] This is not published; I consulted a copy from a head priest of a Kōyasan temple.

[545] Amanogahara is the site of Amanosha This hints at the relationship between Kōyasan and Amano: the two sites are considered as distinct, and the kami is considered as having originated there. It also may be a reference to the origins of the earlier *mondōkō*, at Amano.

shocked and frightened. At the shrine at the Danjō [Garan] a Great Ceremony [*Daihō-e*] was held. A *kami-offering* [*shinbōraku* 神法楽] was done. There was no rest from it, day or night. And so, after that, a new kami oracle occurred. It said: "The mountain monks have stopped me ….You [monks]… this mountain will receive the kami's protection for eternity…." So a Great Ceremony [*Daie hōji* 大会法事] was held at Sannōin. A kami offering was reverentially prepared. Those living on the mountain, monks and laypeople, rich and poor, listened with reverence. Especially, people looked up the heavens and prostrated themselves ….The kami affection [神愛] was requested, they worked diligently. The kami gave another takusen. "Perform the Great Ceremony at the Sannōin every third day of the fifth month. There, on that day, there will be some rain. It should be taken as a sign of the protection of the mountain," it [the takusen] said.
[The next year, Nara [*Nanto* 南都] was visited for the study and transmission of the procedure (*hōji* 法事) of the two great ceremonies. It was named Ryūgi-Seigi [堅義精義]. It began to be performed at the Sannōin.

The *Shunjū* also gives the following information about the origins of the debate: "The mountain monks hold a meeting. Chōyo 長誉 (of Muryōjūin 無量寿院) and Kaizen 快全 (of Shakamonin 釈迦門院) are designated. Both monks are ordered to head to Kōfukuji in Nara. And they study and are transmitted the procedures of the two great ceremonies [the Yuima-e and the Hokke-e]."

For the third day of the fifth month, the first debate is described as follows:

At Sannōin the Risseigi Dai-e is performed. This is done as an offering to the kami. The Ryūgi is Chōyo Ajari. The Seigi is Yūkai Hōin. The Shōgi (証義) is Kaizen Ajari. The Questioner, and the Note-taker are referred to at the end of the old record. [Reference: It says in the *Rissei Hōsoku*: Last year Chōyo of Muryōjūin and Kaizen of Shakamonin went. These are the best [representatives] of all the temples. They studied and received the two ceremonies Yuima and Hokke…. Another theory has it that: The Daimyōjin gave another takusen when the rain that protects the mountain fell. The Great Ceremony was begun the following day. The takusen said: "This ceremony is because of the kami's will. I pledge that I will protect this mountain forever. On this day always address me. The Dharma rain will fall. Respond to this, and believe." Also, Chōkaku of Muryōjūin passed away in Ōei 23. After that, Chōyo was employed [at that temple]. But he was not yet the Muryōjūin head priest. However, the *hōsoku* [ritual procedure manual] was written by Chōyo

…. Also, there are many examples in this record. They were perceived from when the mausoleum was opened….[546]

The account of the setting up of the debate here is very similar to that given of the Chigo Mondō: it is by the request of the mountain deity, through a manifestation (*suijaku* or *yōgō*) and/or a takusen. Because of the monks' laziness and negligence (which recalls the content of the inscriptions on the kami paintings), the kami threatens to stop protecting them. Accordingly, in a meeting in the fifth month, it was decided to dispatch Chōyo and Kaizen to Kōfukuji, center of the Hossō school, in order to learn the procedures for conducting the Yuima-e and the Hokke-e. The following year the Rissei was held for the first time at Sannōin.

The doctrines of *ninimon* and *funimon* promoted by the scholars Hosshō and Dōhan were revived in the Muromachi period by their lineage successors Chōkaku (1346-1416) and Yūkai, and Yūkai was debate participant on first occasion of this new Rissei Rongi debate. Like the monthly debate, the Rissei Rongi was held in the *haiden* hall, (the Sannōin), situated facing the shrines of the kami, and they were carried out as offerings to the kami. The Rissei Rongi was one of the most important stages in the process of promotion from the status of '*Nyūji*' to '*Ajari*'. The debates functioned as a method of qualifying monks for positions within the hierarchical monastic system (known at Kōyasan as *junseki*). Its completion bestowed the participants with the titles of School Head of the Left (*sagakutō* 左学頭) and School Head of the Right (*ugakutō*右学頭), membership in the Myōjin-kō (confraternity of kami devotees), which was comprised of the heads of each

[546] The meaning of "example" is unclear but it seems to signify sample debate questions, thus perceived from Kukai when the mausoleum was opened. This requires further research.

temple at Kōyasan) and theoretically, ultimately resulted in appointment as *Kengyō Hōin*, as mentioned, the highest clerical position, and "stand-in" for the absentee leader, Kūkai.[547]

The Rissei Rongi is today an elaborate event characteristic of Kōyasan's gorgeous, intricate, and highly regulated ritual ceremonies. It was modeled on Kōfukuji's Yuima-e (and possibly the Hokke-e as well (and perhaps the Jion-ne), and students had been dispatched for a year of study in Kōfukuji in order to bring back the debate. Kōyasan was presumably lagging behind at that time in terms of a systematized program through which monks' knowledge of doctrine and their skill in presenting and debating could be demonstrated and upon which clerical advancement could be based, and so it looked to Nara for a model it could imitate. Kōyasan's debate materials are distinct from Kōfukuji's; since the medieval period the texts used have been essential in the education of the scholar monk (though it remains for me to verify their consistent usage in the debates from the beginning). They are a set collection of works, the *Jikkan shō* (Ten Fascicles) which are the *Bodaishin ron* (Aspiration to Enlightenment) attributed to Nāgājuna, and works by Kukai.[548]

Although I have found no explicit evidence that the Rissei Rongi was established as (also) a memorial to a patriarchal figure, as the Kōfukuji debates were, there is compelling

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[547] At Kōyasan today, there are two monthly debates (*tsukinami monko*): the previously mentioned Sannoin Rishu Sanmai tsuketari Monkō on the sixteenth and a debate at the Miedo on the nineteeth. The Rissei Rongi was on the third day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar. Other lecture/debates include the *Kangaku-e*, the *Uchidangi Rongi*, and the *Misaisho-kō.* In terms of their being considered a "stand-in" this is claimed by Hinonishi, Kageyama Haruki, and Yamaguchi Kenzaburo.

[548] There are nine fascicles of six works (several are divided into a number of fascicles): *Sokushin jobutsu gi* (Attaining Enlightenment in this Very Existence); *Shōji jissōgi* (The Meanings of Sound, Word, and Reality; *Unji gi* (The Meanings of the Word Hūm); *Benkenmitsu nikyō ron* (The Difference Between Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism); *Hizō hōyaku* (The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury); and *Hannya shingyō* hiken (The Secret Key to the Heart Sutra).

evidence that it was, which I present in the following chapters. In fact, along with formalization and ritualization from Kamakura Although I have found no explicit evidence that the Rissei Rongi was established as (also) a memorial to a patriarchal figure to Muromachi, the debates at Kōyasan are said to have taken on a "deepening character of ancestor worship", which marks them as contrasting to the debates of Nara and Kyoto.[549] As I have pointed out, on the contrary, the debates of the Tendai and Hosso schools had their origins as memorials, but it may be that the kami and ancestral spirits' involvement in Koyasan's debates was more marked. In fact, Edo period documents, as we will see, became explicit about Kōya Myōjin as an ancestor of the pre-Kūkai community.

Unfortunately, material related to the exchange between these two centers of religious and political power, and the precise procedures followed by the scholars dispatched to Kōfukuji to study the debates, is scarce. However, the Jion-ne and the Yuima-e were of particular comparative interest. The Jion-ne[550] is a debate ceremony held at Kōfukuji and also, today, at Yakushiji, as a memorial (追孝 *tsuikō*) for the patriarch of the Hossō school, Jion Daishi (慈恩大師 Kiki 窺基, Ch. K'uei-chi, 632-682) on the anniversary of his death, the thirteenth day of the eleventh month. It is said to have begun in Tenryaku 5 (951).[551] A portrait of Jion Daishi is hung and the doctrinal debate takes place before it. The debate topics are all based on the scholarship of Jion Daishi and are drawn from texts important to the Hossō school such as: the *Miroku Jōshō kyō* (観弥勒菩

[549] Yamamoto, *Shochiin monjo*, 11.

[550] Originally called *Kōshinkō* 庚申講.

[551] From a reference to the *Gyōgenki* 行賢記 in *Daijōin jisha zōji ki.*

薩上生兜率天経 *Kanmiroku bosatsu jōshō tosotsuten kyō*) and the *Jōyuishikiron* (成唯識論). This ceremony was extremely important to the Hossō school in the development of its scholarship and they dubbed themselves the 'Debate School' (*Ronshū* 論宗). In order to take part in the Kōfukuji's Yuima-e as a lecturer (*kōshi* (講師) one had to take part in the Jion-ne (as well as Kōfukuji's other debates, the Hokke-e 法華会 and Hogo-e 方広会) and to be appointed to the Sōgō (Office of Monastic Affairs), a monk was required to participate as *kōshi* in Yuima-e, Saisho-e at Yakushiji and Misai-e at the Imperial Palace: the three ceremonies known as Nankyō Sanne 南京三会 (or, the Three Nara Assemblies) of which the Yuima-e was the most prestigious. Thus these should not be considered as having been simply an opportunity for monks to grapple with doctrinal problems and exhibit their learning, but also as a career stage in ecclesiastical hierarchy and structure.

As noted above, the Yuima-e, like the Jion-ne, has a patriarchal figure at its center and is performed as a memorial: Fujiwara no Kamatari (614-669), the Fujiwara founder. The Yuima-e ceremony, as is well-known, recalled a famous debate described in the *Vimalakirti nirdesa* (Ch. *Weimojie jing* J. *Yuimagyō* 維摩経): Yuima Kōji 維摩居士, a wealthy layman known for his brilliant eloquence in discoursing on Mahayana teachings, was visited by the bodisattva Manjusri while he was sick, and the two of them debated Buddhist teachings. Subsequent to his death the Yuima-e took place at the clan temple, Kōfukuji, on the anniversary of it, the sixteenth day of the tenth month. Kamatari was

later explicitly identified with Yuima Kōji by an ancestral cult.[552] In the medieval period both the Yuima-e and the Jion-ne employed as ritual apparati icons of these patriarchal figures: Monju and Yuima, associated with Kamatari,[553] and Jion Daishi. Grapard states that the parallel position of statues of Yuima Kōji facing Monju with the two debate participants indicates that the annual debate was merely a reminder of the "real debate" which had taken place between Yuima Kōji and Monju bosatsu,[554] something I would like to suggest was echoed at Koyasan. In terms of their place in the process of monastic advancement, the character and purpose of Rissei debate at Kōyasan was and is the same as those of Kōfukuji even though the ecclesiastical composition was different. Kōyasan, being at a remove from Nara, could not compete in Nara's debate arena, nor was it subject to the same medieval imperial and *bakufu* intervention in its affairs. However, it aspired as a *kenmon* temple (権門寺院); it amassed vast estates and patronage from powerful figures and extended its influence on a grassroots level through the activities of travelling *hijiri*. It

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[552] The cult was at Tonomine 多武峯. See Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, 79 and Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館 ed., *Suijaku bijutsu* 垂迹美術, Kadokawa shoten 角川書店. 1964: pl. 78-81.

[553] See *Kasuga gongen genki-e* 春日権現経記絵 11:2. The scroll painting was by Takashina Takakane 高階隆兼 (1309-1330) and the head compiler of the stories that comprise this narrative handscroll was Kōfukuji monk Kakuen (覚円 1277-1340). Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū 新修日本絵巻物全集 16: *Kasuga gongen genki-e* 春日権現経記絵, ed. Noma Seiroku 野間清六, (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten 角川書店, 1978).

[554] The sutra was extremely popular in medieval China, especially as a subject of artistic portrayal. The earliest paintings of this visit survive in the Yungang caves from the fifth century, and appear in the Dunhuang caves as well (Sui and Tang Dynasty). The paintings show the two figures facing each other. In Japan, the scene of the visit constructed of clay is well-known (ca.711; east interior of Hōryuji pagoda) and indicates the creative potential the scriptural episode offered. Though this is the only sculptural scene in Japan of the subject, as a scene of ceremony and action it was, I think, conducive to dioramic portrayal and reenactment.

also developed its status as a sacred land inhabited by kami and its immanent patriarch, Kōbō Daishi Kūkai, enshrined in a state of meditation in a mausoleum.

It is not surprising that Kōyasan looked to Kōfukuji for inspiration. Kōyasan had held *hōdan rongi* (Dharma discussions) since it set up a *Denbō Dai-e* in the ninth century but it had declined and been revived several times. As described above, other debate variations were also practiced. But Kōfukuji provided the model for systematized ritual debate upon which clerical advancement could be based and Kasuga Daimyōjin was perhaps the most famous kami patron of scholarship. Additionally, Shingon scholars traditionally promoted the learning of Hossō doctrine: its study had been prescribed by Kūkai in what was believed to be his last testament, which was well-known among scholar monks at the time of the Rissei's institution. However, while the Jion-ne and Yuima-e both were held as memorials to deceased patriarchs - Jion Daishi and Fujiwara no Kamatari - the Rissei was not established as a memorial to Shingon patriarch Kūkai even though the texts discussed in the Rissei were his works (such as *Sokushin jobutsugi,* the *Unjigi,* and the *Hannya shingyo hikketsu*). The reason for the deity's command though is more mundane: that this debate be established to correct Koya's failure to develop its scholarship and the idleness of the monks. The *Shunju* does not relay extraneous information about ritual procedure.[555] Other texts, though, give intimations of other origins and functions for the debate ritual, related to kami and patriarchal figures.

The Rissei at Kōya took place on the third day of the fifth month. To this date is sometimes attributed Kūkai's invocation of the two mountain deities of Kōyasan from the

[555] Compiled by Kaiei (懐英 1642-1727), it is heavily biased in favour of scholar monk interests.

shrine at its base. However, there is no proof that this occurred and it seems unlikely that it did. Medieval and Edo period sources relate that this date corresponds to what was believed to be the day of the death of Kariba Myōjin, the deified hunter who in Kōyasan's *engi* guided Kōbō Daishi to the mountain. This deified human (or humanized deity) has a grave at the base of Kōyasan and once enjoyed festive attention on the anniversary of its death. Its location gave the deity a further posthumous name, as kami of the lily field, '*Yurino Myōjin*' (百合野明神). The date for the kami's death appears in a thirteenth century text by aforementioned Kōyasan scholar monk Shinken. A later, 1713 document,[556] also by Kaiei, relates that Kariba Myōjin is the human form (人体) of Kōya Daimyōjin (高野大明神) and that on the third day of the fifth month villagers perform worship at his burial site because this is his *ennichi* (縁日). *Ennichi*, when applied to human figures, commonly corresponds to the anniversary day of death and the Edo *Kii shoku fudoki* regional record indeed calls this day his *kinichi* (忌日). Though extant sources provide this information, the correspondence of the Rissei with the kami's memorial day is not, or no longer acknowledged, and no primary material appears to have survived regarding this. However, the correlation is likely to be significant, especially when one considers Kōfukuji precedents. Additionally, since Kūkai's memorial day was already marked with events, it may have been that, as at Kōfukuji, the Rissei of Kōya was practiced as a memorial not to Kūkai - but to another patriarchal human (or humanized) figure.

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[556] *Kawahari Daimyōjin engi narabi ni sairei yurai ki utsushi 皮張大明神縁起並祭礼由来記写* by Kaiei 懐英. In Hinonishi Shinjō 日野西眞定. "Katsuragi chō Miyamoto Niu Kariba jinja no engi ni tsuite かつらぎ町宮本丹生・狩場神社の縁起について." *Shūkyō minzoku kenkyū* 宗教民族研究 11 (2001), 63-86. Edited by Nihon shūkyō minzoku kenkyūkai 日本宗教民族研究会.

Kariba Myōjin is normally taken as a figure typical to Shugendo *engi* and, according to folklore historian Gorai Shigeru, was important as an ancestral figure to the reinforcement of the identity of the *gyōnin*, or worker monks (in contrast to the scholar monks). At certain points he was described as ancestor of certain clans in the areas at the base of Kōyasan. However, a connection between this deity and scholarship at Kōyasan becomes apparent in around the thirteenth century. This is most prominent in the hagiography of Dōhan (道範 1178-1252) - who has been seen as on a par with Yūkai in terms of scholarly achievement, where there are stories of him concerning his doctrinal *mondō* exchange with a manifested Kariba Myōjin. Depictions of this manifestation show the deity in white robes, rather than hunter's garb (Fig. 11). A strong connection between scholarship and this form of the deity is demonstrated by the fact that the icon of the kami worship done by Rissei participants today is the painting of this deity in its manifested form said to be that of, or based on one made by Dōhan.[557] The new and quite different iconography of the deity is also, I would contest, an indication of Kōyasan's *kenmon* aspirations. The Kariba hunter iconography is not unique but it is sufficiently unlike the male deities of other large temples to suggest that the new appearance of the deity may have been part of Kongōbuji's participation in a broader *kenmon* model. Needless to say, it also reflects Song-inspired iconography in painting popular at the time, which reflects Kōyasan's modernization. Among Kōyasan monks, other reports of debates as memorials in the medieval period abound: Dōhan, whilst in exile, held one for Kōbō Daishi; Dōhan

[557] The medieval discourse of manifestation of a kami, to a scholar, especially of its face, also seems to have had much to do with Buddhist scholarly integrity: this underlies the production of *yogo* paintings.

himself was memorialized with one (during which, as mentioned above, an Edo period monastic biography describes his portrait interjecting objections and corrections).

Debates as memorials for a deified human such as Kariba seem to be less common, but stories of contact with kami for the purposes of scholarly understanding are not unusual. Along with that of Dōhan and his mondō with the male kami of Kōyasan, similar medieval accounts and narratives of doctrinal knowledge sought and attained (or not) directly from kami, concerning Yūkai[558] can be found, and beyond Kōyasan, of Myōe,[559] and of Eichō, a scholar monk of Kōfukuji in the thirteenth century *setsuwa* collection, *Shasekishū*.[560] The 1309 *Kasuga gongen genki e* relates that the Kasuga deity[561] spoke lines from the work of Jion Daishi to Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162).[562]

Accounts relating knowledge gained from patriarchal figures and bodhisattvas in revelatory dreams are also not uncommon and one of them was even prescribed in ritual procedure for the Jion-ne, which I will describe below. Such accounts, rhetorical or not, hint at the belief that Buddhist understanding could be sought from otherworldly figures. Myōe, during his period of planning to go to India, witnesses the possession by Kasuga

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[558] *Yūkai hōin go monogatari* 宥快法印御物語, ZSSZ 32. Also, in "Chōkaku sonshi to Yūkai hōin 長覚尊師と宥快法印," in *Chōkaku Yūkai ryōsentoku gohyaku kaiki hōonkai* 長覚宥快両先徳五百回忌報恩会 (1916).

[559] In *Kokonchomonjū* 古今著聞集 , in NKBT 84, 100-101. An English translation of the part in which Myōe questions a kami on Kegon doctrine is found in Robert E. Morrell, "Passage to India Denied: Zeami's Kasuga Ryūjin," *Monumenta Nipponica* 37.2 (1982), 186.

[560] *Shasekishū*, NKBT 85. vol 1.7. The title (明神は道心を喜び給ふ) is translated by Robert E. Morrell as "The Native Gods Esteem the Sincere Desire for Enlightenment." Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, 87. The tale also appears in 10.4 of *Kasuga gongen genki e*.

[561] As patron of Hossō, the kami's name is read "*Shunnichi Gongen.*"

[562] *Kasuga gongen genki e* 4.2; mentioned in Tyler, *Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, 93.

Daimyōjin in the body of his aunt whose face turns the color of "lapis lazuli" blue and from whose mouth emerges a fragrant white foam. Myōe asks: ""In recent times I have come across many puzzling statements in the *Garland Sutra*. Will you resolve them for me?" The deity consented. Taking ink and paper, the Shōnin wrote down questions on a variety of issues, and one by one the answers were clearly given. The Shōnin was moved to tears of gratitude and gave up his plans to go abroad."[563]

Certainly, the descriptions of the oracle at Henmyō'in in seventeenth and eighteenth century chronicles, discussed in Chapter 3, indicate a mondō-like process between scholarly elder monks and the possessed chigo. Two further examples show that the notion of kami as instructors and the interaction between monk and kami was often one of (or resembling) mondō, was present among scholar monks at Kōyasan. The *Yūkai Hōin Go Monogatari*, by Yukai's *deshi*, relates that he received instruction on *siddham* script from Niu Myōjin: "In the making of the *Shitsuji shō* there were some unresolved problems. One evening a female kami carrying a lantern came and spoke. I am the female deity of this mountain, Niutsuhime.… The kami instructed him on each [problem]."[564] The same text describes an encounter with a possessed eleven-year old girl who delivered innumerable oracles. Yūkai fears that during the *mappō* period of Dharma decline, takusen may be a ploy by heretical kami, and so he tests it by asking questions on doctrine. Here, Yūkai's assumption is that if a kami is a "true kami" it will be able to explain the difficult Buddhist theories he asks about in order to test it. (This, too, may be a concept related to the roles of

[563] Morrell, *Early Kamakura Buddhism*, 108. From Nagazumi and Shimada, *Kokonchomonjū*, 100-101.

[564] Also reported in the Yūkai section of Mangen Shiban's 卍元師蠻 compliation of "eminent monks of Japan," the *Honchōkōsōden* 本朝高僧伝 of 1702.

the "Seigisha" and "Ryūgisha" in the *Rissei*.) In Yūkai's 1375 *Hokyōsho*, his conception of the function of kami appears again: "There are many heresies in the transmissions of the lineages with the names of Myōchō, Kensei, and others. This was not conjectured by man, but proclaimed by Niu Daimyōjin. The people who have practiced this method have been numerous but they have no arcane protection. For the greater part both the men and the learning became extinct on this mountain."[565] Yūkai's aim, here and during much of his monastic career, was to purge Shingon of what he conceived to be its heretical elements and to systematize it. In this context, his interpretation of the kami as mainly concerned with accuracy and truth and able to detect heresy can be seen as an aspect of his overall project and so it cannot be said to represent the thought of all monks during all periods at Kōyasan. However, considering the fact that he himself was the Ryūgisha candidate at the inaugural Rissei Rongi debate, and as a figure deeply concerned with doctrinal study, it can be assumed that his thoughts on the kami exerted at least some influence over the mountain community.

Guidance from the kami in doctrinal matters may have been invoked in ritual practices related to the debates. Those major debates of Kōfukuji, the Yuima-e, the Jion-ne, and the Hokke-e (the last of which I do not discuss here, but which was also said to have been a precedent for Kōyasan's debates) involved a period of kami worship as preparation for the candidate. Extant records of this date back to the fifteenth century appearing in the *Daijōin Jisha zōji ki*. For the Jion-ne, this was a period of silent, secluded, intensive exam preparation called *zenkegyō* (前加行) at the end of which the *tandai* (探題) (the figure who

[565] vanden Brouke, *Hōkyōshō*, 18.

selects the topics and judges the examination) is said to appear in a dream and relinquish the debate topic on a piece of paper to the candidate. This is called the *yumemi no koto* 夢見の事 ("something seen in a dream") (or *yumemi no gi* 儀). In practice it is also the ceremonial action of passing the question to the candidate during debate, which is preceded by the questioner's entrance to the debate hall through a "dream door." The usual rules of *shōjin* abstinence are observed and paintings of Kasuga Aka Dōji 春日赤童子 and founder Jion Daishi are hung over what is called a "manifestation table" or "invocation table" (*yōgō tsukue* 影向机 or *kanjō tsukue* 勧請机). This all recalls *sanrō* (参籠), the practice of confining oneself to a sacred space in order to receive a dream containing guidance. Similarly, in the Yuima-e, the selector of topics is meant to receive them in a dream from Kasuga Daimyōjin.[566] At Kōyasan, on the other hand, the *gohonjiku* 御本地供 is performed daily by both debate participants for a year (undertaken from the 3rd day of 9th month until the same day of the following) using as a *honzon* a painting of Kariba Myōjin in his manifestation (*yōgō*) form (that is, the form witnessed by Dōhan), and the practitioners are similarly confined and abstinent. Both the Kōfukuji and Kōyasan practices contain elements recognizable as practices where contact with a kami is sought, including those of possession rituals. Incidentally, the tales of Dōhan's mondō with the kami locate the kami on a rock outside Dōhan's temple, a common abode or manifestation ground of a kami known as a *yōgō seki*.

The Muromachi Rissei does not today and perhaps never has employed a material honzon, but the year-long practice required of the Rissei candidates, the *Gohonjiku,* did.

[566] Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, 80.

Following the logic of honzon-necessity as prompted by location in relation to enshrined deities, a honzon was required by the *Gohonjiku*, because the practice took place in the candidate's own temples. It is performed once daily and the kami are brought into the presence of the practitioner. The practitioners follow a *shōjin* diet, and eat food cooked at a 'separate hearth', observe celibacy, and are confined to the mountain. After the procession for delivering the honzon to their temples, a 'gate amulet' is affixed to the temple entrance prohibiting impure people from entering (*owai fujō-hai, fukyō nyūmon* 汚穢不浄輩不許入門). A "Dai Myōjin Jūjū Dan" ("Altar for reception of the Great Myōjin" 大明神授受檀) is prepared upon which the honzon is set. The appearance of the honzon is veiled: they are covered in white silk even during practice. Furthermore, although numerous re-mountings have apparently been made, it is said that the honzon themselves have never been replaced. This may account in part for the outward secrecy with which the painting is treated – the cover is a form of protection from smoke, oil and other sources of damage. However, it also suggests that the painting was probably not covered in the early period of the practice. Incense must be kept burning constantly for a year and in order to attain such incendiary mileage a mold in the shape of the Siddham seed syllable *kiriku* is used to forge a long, winding path of powder. This signifies purification and also constant worship, which is a notable characteristic of the ritual. After a year is completed, the honzon is immediately transferred to the next debate candidate for the ritual to be continued without interruption. (It is possible too that the incense is burned without being ever extinguished, in the manner of the ever-burning lamps at Kōyasan, because an *egoro* is carried even during the transport of the honzon.) The constancy of the worship is expressed today in terms that recalls this

eternal-burning, as being done for the light of the Buddhist law. But this constant practice also offers clues as to the origins of the ritual.

A procession (that involves this *egoro*) takes place in order to transport the honzon paintings of Yōgō Myōjin, from the temple of the exam candidate to that of the candidate in the following year's exam for his *Gohonjiku*. Some intriguing parallels exist between worship practices in Amano and at Kōyasan. There is an Amano area devotee group which existed by the seventeenth century by which Kariba Myōjin as ancestor (mentioned earlier) is worshipped. Like Koyasan's procession and *Gohonjiku* in which Yōgō Myōjin is worshipped, the Amano-based Myōjin-kō entails worship duties that rotate, but in this case between the homes of villagers (who take turns at occupying this role). The honzon, a scroll painting of *Kariba* Myōjin, also is transported in a procession, just as it is at Kōyasan. It is this rotational worship that necessitates processional transport of the honzon.[567] The practice indicates at both sites the systematization of communities and the establishment of hierarchical responsibilities for deity worship. In Kōyasan's case, completion of the exam allowed the candidates membership of the *Shukurō Myōjin-kō* – 'The Head Priests' Kami Meeting.' This in turn put him on the hierarchical ladder toward eventual promotion to Hōin (*kengyō*).

From vision-inspired iconography to links with mountain asceticism, to choreographed ritual behavior invested with symbolism, the intricacy with which kami

[567] The treatment of the paintings in the procession also follows older precedents as a measure of security and protection: wrapped and carried around the neck of the priest it recalls Kōyasan monk Myōchō's transportation of a "secret mandala" which he carried "around his neck" during his travels to Kanto.

worship was woven into Kōyasan's rituals, even when it came to the one they imported from Kōfukuji, is remarkable. As monks' offerings of scholarly finesse for the evaluation of the kami, the debate exams reveal how doctrinal study and acknowledgement of Kūkai/Kōbō Daishi was bound up with reverence of kami. Today, the kami paintings, the *Gonhonjiku*, the debate, and the procession appear as a unified set, but their histories reveal that this set is a point of convergence of many developments: interactions with Nara and with Amano, the relocation of rituals and the incorporation of temples, and the links between mountain based gyōja practices and scholarly pursuits. Aside from the debate proper, the preparatory ritual and aspects of procession to the debate site at Kōyasan suggest similarities with Kofukuji's procedure and are replete with kami worship. The Rissei participants themselves adopt kami names and are known by the title of "Myōjin" and this along with the intensive one year ritual kami worship practice has been noted by Kōyasan historian Hinonishi as marked with Shugendō-like, even *genkurabe*-like characteristics, that is, the showing off "supernatural" skills attained by periods of intensive mountain practice. In this case, the supernatural skills exhibited are discursive ones. The debate participants' (Ryūgisha and Seigisha) names are Ryūgi Myōjin 竪義明神 and Seigi Myōjin 精義明神, and these are also the names allotted to the kami they worship in their separate residential temples. Here we see a possible adaptation of the Kōfukuji model into Kōyasan's debate which included region-specific practices. The Ryūgi has the role of constructing an argument in response to the subject of debate (*rondai*). Simply put, he is the exam candidate. "Ryūgi" means 'to present an argument in response to a debate question' (or the monk that has that role)'. The Seigi, as the term indicates, was responsible for clarifying that argument through detailed explanation and may be defined as the examiner.

Seigi 精義 as a verb means "to explain in detail and make clear" or as a noun, "excellent reasoning" (優れた道理). These recall, but alter, the titles of the Kōfukuji debatees in the Yuima-e and Jion-e: Rissha 竪者(disputer) and Shōgisha 精義者 (examiner), *seigi* being an alternative pronounciation for *shōgi*. At Kōyasan, the Seigi are superior to the Ryūgi and the judgment of the Seigisha was authoritative. According to Horita, the Seigisha has the status of a teacher (*shi*) and Ryugisha that of the student (*deshi*).

Although we cannot assume that such "gen-kurabe"-like practices occurred when the debates began, the simplified Denbō Dai-e that continued after the Daidenbō-in monks' departure and survives today, much simplified, as the *Uchidangi*, there are elements of *genkurabe* skill demonstration: Hinonishi notes that this debate involves a private display of the "gyōja's [practitioner's] mastery" (*gyōja no jukurendo* 行者の熟練度) at the residences of the School Heads.[568] It should be noted that the scholars are called *gyōja*, a term normally not applied to learners of doctrine but to ritual practitioners. Of course, the two roles are not easily separable, and the term here indicates that scholarship too can be an act of mastery.

The manual for the Rissei ("Sannōin Rissei") that is currently used dates to the Shōwa period and it also mentions that the elaborate process of the two debate participants assembling for the ritual, which appears to be a variety of the rite of inviting and declining, is known as 'The Mondō of Daishi and the Myōjin' (*Daishi Myōjin no mondō* 大師明神の問答). The name of the ritual procedure, which suggests an exchange between Kōbō Daishi

[568] Hinonishi Shinjō 日野西眞定. *O-Daishi-san to Koyasan Okuno'in* お大師さんと高野山「奥の院」. Tokyo: Keiyūsha 慶友社, 2011, 18.

and the kami, remains, but the meaning seems to have been lost. The albeit late, ritual manual explains that it is Daishi meeting the Myōjin ("*Myōjinsama ga Daishisama wo mukaeru*" 明神様が大師様を迎える). This is also referred to as the "*nanado-han*" (七度半 "seven-and-a half times). As is described in the "Sannō'in Risseigi", immediately before the debate is about to begin, the Ryūgisha and Seigisha arrive at the Danjō Garan, whereby the Seigisha proceeds to the Miedo (a hall where the original portrait of Kūkai (or so it is said) is kept along with other treasured materials) and the Ryūgisha goes to the Sannō'in. A monk assisting the Ryūgisha then advances toward and retreats seven and a half times (hence the name *nanadohan*) from a monk serving the Seigisha. After this, the Seigisha leaves the Miedo and enters Sannoin for the debate itself. It is of relevance that "mukaeru" does not merely mean facing or welcoming but is often connected with deity manifestation, entrance or guidance of the deceased to a Buddhist Pure Land, or invocation by living people of ancestral spirits. The procedure called *Daishi Myōjin no mondō* seems not to be unique to Kōyasan and it may indeed have been quite common, under different names. For instance, Masao Yamaguchi describes the *igomori* (斎籠もり, 忌籠もり, or 居籠り) matsuri (festival of incubation) in Wakide shrine[569] in Tanakura (Kyoto). He cites this as a good example of a "ritual folk drama" performed by village shrine priests, pointing out that around the 13th century, there were no village temples except for the "national temple originally built or patronized by the government" (224)). This shrine is one site in a "theatrical space" that extends throughout Tanakura. Significant to our comparison is a

[569] "Wakide" is spelt variously 涌出 or 湧出, and the shrine is also called simply "Waki" 和枝 shrine.

ritual called *shichigo-han no torikai* ("seven and a half times messenger"), which resembles in name and procedure the *nanadohan*. He describes it as follows:

> A man from Yoyiki [sic. Probably Yoriki[-za] group] goes formally dressed to the house of the head of Furukawa-za ["descendents of the ancestor who followed the goddess…who settled down in the village." This is the reenactment of the mythological account in which the Furukawa-za, who accompanied the goddess, was urged by the indigenous group represented by the Yoriki-za to come and settle at the place where the Wakauide-gu is located.

He concludes, after a brief description of the theatrical, Noh-like way in which the subsequent formalized banquet is conducted, that it can be observed that "the total space of the village is turned into a kind of theatrical space in which people play the role of mythological personages allocated and distributed according to formal associations (*za*)." [570] The procedure preceding the Kōyasan debates is remarkably similar and it is not too far a stretch to propose that one figure in it represents either Kōbō Daishi (who followed Kariba Myōjin to Kōyasan) and the other represents the indigenous group around Niu Myōjin, inviting him to settle. Kōyasan, and especially the debate area, is certainly seen here as a shrine territory, since the shrines for the two kami are situated facing the Sannō'in. Temporal correspondence also supports this interpretation of the ritual procedures. The Rissei Rongi debates were at one point, a 1778 document records, called Gogatsu Mikka Ryūgi 五月三日竪義, referring to the date upon which it was held, that is, the third of the fifth month. This is the same date, as already noted, that is traditionally

[570] Yamaguchi Masao, "Cosmological Dimensions of Japanese Theater," in *The Empire of Signs*, edited by Yoshihiko Ikegami, (Amsterdam/Philidelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 224-225.

cited as that of the invocation of Kōya/Kariba Myōjin and Niu Myōjin to the complex at Kōyasan by Kūkai. This date was accepted in that sense during the medieval period. Additionally, a kami named Yanagisawa Myōjin (柳澤明神"Willow-swamp kami"), a particular manifestation of Niu enshrined just behind Amanosha in a swampy area, is said to manifest on the third day of the fifth month every year – the very same day. Niu Myōjin in fact appears as a violent swamp deity introduced to Kukai by Kariba Myōjin in a legend of Kōbō Daishi, *Kuūkai Sōzu Den*, thought to date to the 9th century. Intriguingly, an Edo period painting reflects a 1626 account of a manifestation of Niu Myōjin to Kariba Myōjin beneath a willow tree near Amano. A very similar painting at Jimyōin at Kōyasan is kept inside a box inscribed "Ryūgi Myōjin", suggesting this willow tree apparition, the "willow swamp" kami and Ryūgi Myojin of the Rissei Rongi are the same deity, but this identification or link remains obscure. Nonetheless, the characters for the name of the debate participant, called (during his tenure) "Ryūgi Myojin 竪義明神" map honomymically perfectly on to a name that might well be appended to a willow-tree related kami: 柳木. One wonders if such a name was used "below," and adopted and adapted for the ceremonial enactments "above" (within the *kekkai* 結界 of Kōyasan). The same date (of the third day of the fifth month) is also that of Kariba Myōjin's *ennichi*, the memorial of his death, as recorded in a 1713 text which I mention above, that identifies him as an ancestor, buried near Amano.[571] The burial place is in Kawahari village (皮張村). The chronology of developments in worship and the relationships between these sites remains unclear at this point. It is known, however, that Kōyasan monks who had completed a stage of education

[571] Known at this site as Yurino Myōjin 百合野明神.

(albeit previous to and separate from the debates) would make the final stops during their periods of ascetic practices in the mountains of Ōmine and Katsuragi at, respectively, the swamp shrine and the Kariba ancestral shrine. Yamaguchi writes that sixty days prior to the *matsuri* he describes, a process called *morimawashi* occurs. This involves two messengers making offerings throughout the mountains, on foot, to the fourteen *hokura* (shrines) marking the places that the goddess (who had [been] settled at the main shrine) passed on her way to it. Similar to the above-mentioned Kōyasan practice, this also has much in common with the procedures undertaken by along Kōyasan's Shugendō trails.

As such, the Rissei becomes a reenactment of an original interaction between Kōbō Daishi and the kami. The embodiments and substitutions performed here are, I believe, related to mountain deity-related practices and are strongly suggestive of the "enactment" of shrine settlement that Yamaguchi describes. The preceding year-long period of *Gohonjiku* practice is an incubation ritual, undertaken in preparation for the debates as the participants in Yamaguchi's event do, and as a means of gathering knowledge and strength akin to a *gyōja* who emerges from ascetic practice to wield enhanced skills of various types. In this way, the Rissei as a whole ritual procedure seems an appropriate adaptation of Kōfukuji's practices, an adaptation that while commemorating the deaths of secular and religious patriarchs, also encompasses the divine figures important at Kōyasan. The Ryūgisha (Ryūgi Myōjin) here represents Kūkai, seeking the authority of the teaching kami. During the Rissei itself, responses to a successful answer by the candidate are indicated with fan gestures; the manual records that these gestures represent the joy of the kami at the monk's success. Though one cannot be at all certain these meanings were invested in the debates before Meiji, the debate candidates do appear to be substitutes for

Daishi, and the kami as educators of the monks, correcting their doctrinal understanding. It should also be noted that paintings of Yōgō Myōjin (*not* Kariba) communicating with Daishi appear elsewhere as early as the Kamakura period, and were also sometimes part of a composition that included Ise, Hachiman and Kasuga in the upper section in Edo period variations of the Sanja takusen type painting. Moreover, the shrine practices that Yamaguchi discusses date back to the Kamakura period at latest. The subject remains to be further investigated. Since the new iconography came about in connection to the debates, it may need to be considered in that context, and in the context of tales of monks interacting with kami, of oracles that transmitted Buddhist teaching, and of the possible enactments of such an interaction between Kōbō Daishi and Kōya Myōjin during the debate rituals at Kōyasan. Kageyama Haruki notes that at the New Year, a doctrinal debate takes place at Sannō'in and that during this, the Monja (questioner) and the Rissha (i.e. Ryūgisha) take the parts of, respectively, the kami and Daishi. At this time, the monk who takes on the role of kami is restricted from leaving the mountain community for one year, abides by *shōjin* (ascetic) rules, and worships the two kami in his residential temple. It is said, Kageyama reports, that this prepares him for the role of *gūji* 宮司.[572] Kagayama distinguishes this from the Rissei Rongi debate[573] but the "role-playing" in the former likely was undertaken in the latter as well.

In conclusion, I suggest that the debate preparation ritual is an incubation rite. In many cases these were undertaken in order to receive oracles, so it is possible that at Henmyō'in temple monks did indeed wish to invoke a god subsequent to the original

[572] In Gorai, *Kōyasan to Shingon Mikkyō no kenkyū*, p.75.

[573] Which is he describes on p.75-6.

oracular possession there, in order to receive help in their debate training, just as Myōe, Dōhan, Yūkai, and others invoked or encountered kami for the purpose and as is, too, suggested by the *yōgo no tsukue* at Kōfukuji for its debate candidates. But there is also a re-enactment of the land claims of Kōyasan, so the debate procedures are a variant on common shrine rituals involving the role-play of a god and a human. Finally, throughout the preparation and the debate proper, the debaters are considered kami, and it is my proposal that they represented (or, were even (considered to be) possessed in some way by) Daishi and the Myōjin, with the latter, as superior Seigisha, clarifying the doctrinal positions of the former.

A number of scholars have examined Kōyasan's Mondō-kō and Rongi. However, as far as I am aware, none of this research (apart from that done by Hinonishi) investigates in detail the debates in the context of contemporary beliefs about the kami. Conversely, little of the research on kami worship at Kōyasan has considered theory or worship of the kami in the context of scholarly rites. Just as with the research on the paintings of the kami discussed in Chapter 4, most of the research on the Kōyasan kami has focused on the shrines before the construction of Kongōbuji, the connections between Amano and Kongōbuji, the *engi*, Kukai's kami worship, or his own deification or identification with kami. Icons related to debate rituals—paintings of kami and of Kōbō Daishi/Chigo Daishi—have been mentioned or discussed in the work of Kageyama Haruki, Gorai Shigeru, Kadoya Atsushi, Hamada Takashi, and Hinonishi Shinjo. However, because of the very limited materials available, the situation regarding the production and specific function of these paintings remains unclear. One of the reasons why the link between Mondō and kami has not invited analysis is because debates were performed from an early period as

conventional and appropriate offerings to kami. The kami are thus passed over as a somewhat passive audience rather than included as an active ritual component. The significance of the performance of these Mondō and Rongi, in addition to monastic education and doctrinal learning, and the system of clerical promotion, as an aspect of kami worship, was/is clear, yet research on the history of Koyasan has not fully addressed the role of the kami in these arenas of ritualized learning. Kami worship seems to have been a form of patriarch worship. This point will be pursued in Chapter 7 with a look at the Chūin-ryu figures, past and present, who figure in relation to the paintings, and harks back to the statement from the *Takusenki* that opens the dissertation, mentioning the attendance of great "past masters" as well as kami at a scholarly assembly. Patriarch figures were "superimposed" on to the kami, and I look at this in terms of temporal parallels between ceremonial ancestral days related to the kami and debate-related rituals. Studies of sacred space, including those of Kōyasan, make note of sites appropriated by newly incumbent communities, but temporal appropriation also occurred. The patriarch-worship component was a common element in the types of Buddhist kami worship we find in debate-related procedures at both Kōyasan and Kōfukuji, and it turned the debate ceremony into a form of patriarch/ancestral worship, or memorial, through which, too, the knowledge of the elders could be accessed. This in fact has commonalities with oracular possession rites of a non-monastic type, a larger point which I want to make throughout this dissertation, and which is fully demonstrated by the Henmyō'in oracular possession.

CHAPTER 8

The Visual Culture of Scholarly Rites and Ceremonies

1. *Mystical perception and scholarly virtue: Production of "Yōgō" Myōjin*
2. *Painting for the Chigo Mondō-kō*
3. *Paintings as providers of living encounters*
4. *A visual genealogy: The significance of the Chūin-ryu figures found in paintings*
5. *Postscript: Fudō Myōō, the Gohonjiku mandala, and Henmyō'in*

Introduction

"Of the monks living on this mountain, the chigo are protected by the teachings of the kami and the monks are protected by the teachings of Daishi," the *Takusenki* reports.[574] In the *Yasan Myōreishū*, in reference to the monk named Kaison, who had initiated the *mondō* assembly for Chigo, a similar but more precise statement appears: *"It has been said from long ago at Kōyasan that the monks serve Daishi and the Chigo are the messengers of the Myojin.*"[575] Chigo were linked to Myōjin; monks to Daishi. Perhaps this is why a special mondō for Chigo was set up at Amanosha, where the mountain kami protective of the Kōyasan community were originally enshrined, and about which lay areas Niu Myōjin was

[574] *Takusenki* 1:63.

[575] *Yasan Myōreishū*, 5:49. (高野に昔よりいひ傳へて、衆徒は大師の侍者、児童ハ明神の使命という.)

said to have manifested during her "travels" about the area before finally settling. In this chapter I explore the figures connected to the paintings said to be linked to scholarship and discussed in Chapter 4, as well as the so-called Mondōkō-zu that has been linked to the Chigo Mondō. First, the hagiographies of Dōhan relate him to new iconography of Kariba Myōjin, which was called Yōgō Myōjin. I argue that it is significant that the kami manifested itself to him in a scholarly context and to the extent that it showed its full form, enabling him (as hagiography goes) to paint him, since there was a contemporary discourse that correlated the revelation of a kami's face to a scholar-monk's virtue.

I then discuss the paintings' connections to debates, and I propose that they were tightly connected to the Chūin-ryū, and were empowered and miraculous images intended as manifestations themselves. Further, I examine the *Myōjin kōshiki* written by Shōso and amended by Yūkai – both figures intimately tied to Dōhan and the debates; point out the similarity of language in it with that on the inscriptions on the Kongōbuji diptych; and suggest that it, and likely the paintings too, were used at the debate-related *Shukurō Myōjin-kō*, or a similar assembly previous to that which was also linked to debates.

1. Mystical perception and scholarly virtue: Production of "Yōgō" Myōjin

Whether the Kongōbuji diptych was used or not in a scholarship-related rite is unclear, but certainly the imagery that developed from it did, and this imagery coincided with the beginnings of the Chūin-ryū's complete dominance of Kōyasan, whereby Meizan's teachings finally took preeminence after aspects deemed heretical had been excised by

Yūkai.[576] A startling transformation occurred for Kariba Myōjin and the earliest material example of the new iconography is dated to the Muromachi period, or around the 14th century, coinciding with Yūkai's reorganization of the community and its rituals. Kariba Myōjin lost all traces of his hunterly appearance, and was now clad in a pure white robe, and a tall black courtly hat, holding a *shaku* "baton," which was an indicator of aristocratic status. The oldest example of this painted iconography belongs to Kōyasan's Shōchi'in temple at (Fig.12 [left section]), home of the now well-discussed prolific and high-ranking Chūinryū scholar monk Dōhan. It will perhaps come as no surprise that the iconography is ascribed to a vision of Dōhan's. He is said to have engaged in question-and-answer sessions with Kariba Myōjin (in this context referred to as "Kōya Myōjin") in order to finesse his scholarly aptitude. Kōya Myōjin would manifest himself on a rock in the garden of the temple in order to converse with this monk. This gives an insight into notions regarding the kami and their relationship with Buddhism that are little known outside the monastic community at the mountain today. The kami were, and are, teachers of the monks, not merely objects of worship, and while the line may not be a straight and uninterrupted one, there certainly seems to be some continuity between this idea and the much earlier "conversions" of kami to Buddhism in which the kami were enshrined on temple sites expressly in order that they might be exposed to Buddhist teachings. I would suggest that when monks perform *shinbōraku* (神法楽; offerings to the kami), which at Kōyasan are almost always chanted sutras or doctrinal debates, they are not only demonstrating their aptitude in a manner deemed most respectful to the kami, they are both transmitting the

[576] Oyama, "Himitsu bukkyō Kōyasan Chūin-ryū no kenkyū (josetsu)," 158.

teachings, and *also* being judged by the kami who had come to be considered highly knowledgeable about the Dharma. It would appear that monks of a major temple in Kōfukuji would also pay visits to the Kasuga shrine to converse with kami for the same purpose, as a tale in the previously mentioned *Shasekishu* entitled "The Native Gods Esteem the Sincere Desire for Enlightenment" and subtitled "Kasuga Myojin does a debate without showing its face" reflects. The same kami in *Kasuga Genki* does not show its face because the monk is not deemed to be at the sufficient level of practice to see it. The *Shasekishu* story relates that a Nara monk engaged in *mondō* with a kami, and when inquiring about unclear doctrinal points, the kami gave its answers. However, although the kami shows its "honorable" form (*sontai* 尊体) and allows its voice to be heard, it refuses to show its face even when induced to do so. The passage is as follows:

> In Nara lived a learned priest known as Eichō [1014-95]. After years of burning the midnight oil he developed a reputation for being a great scholar. Once when he was at the Great Kasuga Shrine on a pilgrimage the deity spoke to him in a dream. Eichō questioned him about the doctrine of the *Treatise on Yoga* and the *Completion of Mere Ideation* and was given a reply. However, the monk was not able to see the face of the deity. He said to the deity "For many years I have devoted myself to the way of learning, carrying on the Idealist (*yuishiki*) tradition which is the light of the Law, and offering up those rites in which the gods delight. As a result, I perceive your form before me and hear the sound of your sublime words…and my heart would rejoice if I could likewise view your noble countenance." The kami replied, "Your pursuit of learning is admirable, and because of this I have held discourse with you. But since you have no sincere desire for enlightenment, I do not wish to meet you face to face."[577]

About this, the compiler Mujū remarks: "The conduct of the scholars in the seminaries of Nara and Kyoto has only fame and profit as its objective, and the pursuit of

[577] Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, 87.

enlightenment is outside its purview."[578] As the tale indicates, the Nara monk had long studied and transmitted the Hossō school teachings, and had made offerings assiduously to the deity. (Incidentally, it is quite possible that the rites to which he refers are the rites undertaken by monks in preparation for participation in debates on Hossō doctrine, mentioned, for example, in the *Daijōin jisha zōjiki*). As a result, Kasuga Daimyōjin appeared in his dream to answer his questions about doctrine and to instruct him. This is a clear 13th century example of a scholar monk engaging in *mondō* with a kami who is of superior intelligence regarding the Buddhist doctrine. As Asuka Sango[579] points out, Mujū's criticism of scholar-monks (which is not confined to this example) was not a personal grievance; indeed, it was shared by many of the time, and "doctrinal study for fame and profit" (*myōri* 名利) was especially condemned by reclusive monks, as a kind of anti-establishment trope. In this tale, because he lacks the sincere wish for enlightenment (*dōshin* 道心) the scholar monk's request to view the kami's face is rebuffed. The appearance of a kami as judge of a scholar monk's virtue is significant, as is the interaction of the kami as a resource for clarifying doctrinal understanding. The similar type of tale about Dōhan appears in the 1672 *Kōyasan Tsūnenshū*, the *Fudoki*, and the *Yasan Myōreishū* (though unfortunately their source is unclear) and a comparison of the two tales may shed mutual light on their subtexts. As mentioned, Dōhan, it is reported, would engage in *mondō* with Kōya Myōjin, who would manifest itself on a rock in the garden of Shōchi'in where Dōhan was resident. *Tsūnenshū,* the earliest of the record of it (1672),

[578] Morrell, Sand and Pebbles, 87 (translation slightly amended).

[579] Asuka Sango, "In the Halo of Golden Light," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 72-73.

describes Dōhan's *mondō* in the following way: "Kōya Daimyōjin would always manifest itself at this temple, and engage in *mondō* with the Ajari Dōhan. Today on the mountain above there remains a manifestation rock (*yōgō iwa* 影向岩) and this is the place the Myōjin would always come to, and at this temple the copy of the honorobale form (尊形 *sonkei*) of the Myōjin's manifestation reflects the form (かたち *katachi*) of that time." The record adds that "[T]he painting [*shin'ei* 神影] of the manifestation of Kōya Myōjin is based on the model 'copied' by Dōhan at this time." This "copy" and the kami whose form it copied, came to be known as "Yōgō Myōjin" (rather than Kariba). A rock is a common site for the alighting of kami (it is a kind of *yorimashi* 憑座 or "antenna" for kami induction), and is often, as here, considered the miniature equivalent of a mountain. It stood against the *shakukei* (or *shakkei* 借景), "borrowed landscape scenery" of the vaster Shinō-oka 神応岡 mountains beyond it, one of the inner "eight petals" of the lotus-like Kōyasan. The borrowing and miniaturizing of natural elements not merely for aesthetic or pilgrimage purposes (which is how they have most commonly been discussed) but for kami induction and manifestation is of note. As I explain below, I consider paintings and their copies to serve the same purpose and to function by the same principle, of mimesis.

The explanation of the origin of the new imagery had become a staple one by the Edo period, appearing in both the *Yasan Myōreiki* and the *Fudoki.* But found on the reverse of the Muromachi period "Yōgō Myōjin" scroll painting at Shōchi'in,[580] which seems to be

[580] Today it is used in the Shukurō Myōjin-kō (the Elders' Myōijn group), and in other assemblies. This assembly considered a form of ancestor worship (先祖講 *sensōkō*), and it is the assembly to which the debaters of the Rissei Rongi are elected. Kōyasan Reihōkan, *Kōyasan Shōchi'in no rekishi to bijutsu*, 6.

the oldest of the type, is an inscription claiming it is the original to all copies of the imagery. It is recorded as having been based on a prototype (*tehon* 手本) made by Dōhan and based on his perception (*kantoku* 感得) of the kami. The kind of painting or drawing called a *kantoku-zō* is iconography that is based on mystical perception and is (thus) significantly different to conventional iconography. The Yellow (or Gold) Fudō of Onjōji is perhaps most representative of the genre: it was based on the manifestation of the Myōō to Enchin in 838 when the deity instructed Enchin to replicate his image.[581] Elsewhere, a sacred child (*dōji* 童子) was depicted in the *Kongō hannya haramitakyō* 金剛般若波羅蜜多経 according to a vision in a dream, and famous dreamer Myōe produced paintings of Kasuga Myōjin and Sumiyoshi Myōjin which were made in response to oracles – as "keepsakes".[582] These, like the iconography of what was now known as Yōgō Myōjin, became the standard. Iconographic principles for depicting kami were transmitted by the kami themselves, and new and divergent ones were announced in the same way. Ive Covaci has discussed the material representations that were based on (often "incubatory"), kami or other figures, including patriarchs, who would instruct sleepers on iconography.[583]

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[581] *Taishō Zuzō* Vol.5, p. 173c. See also Okuyama Naoji, "Appearance of innovative iconography," in *Matrices and Weavings: Expressions of Shingon Buddhism in Japanese Culture and Society, Volume 2 of Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjō kiyō: Bessatsu* (Kōyasan Daigaku, Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjō, 2004). See also Okuda Isao 奥田勲, *Myōe: henreki to yume* 明恵～遍歴と夢, (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppan kai 東京大学出版会, 1978), 119, on his record of dreams, the form of the record and so on.

[582] Karen L. Brock, "My Reflection Should be your Keepsake: Myōe's Vision of the Kasuga Deity," in *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, edited by Elizabeth Horton Sharf and Robert Sharf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 49-77.

[583] Covaci, "The Ishiyamadera engi and the Representation of Dreams and Visions in Pre-modern Japanese Art."

That he was able to depict the kami suggests that Dōhan had been able to perceive the entirety of its body including its face. The iconography is considerably different to that of other paintings of this kami, such as that which provides the kami with the appearance of a hunter (in the Kongōbuji diptych) or black-robed seated aristocrat (as in the *Mondōkō-zu* and elsewhere). This new style is said to be related to the *Mondōkō*: it has been suggested as having been the icon for the Chigo *Mondōkō*, and it also seems to be the icon for the pre-debate Gohonjiku – a ritual that is necessary for participation in the Rissei Rongi - as I will discuss below. Considered in the conceptual and literary trope of *Shasekishū* story, the idea perhaps promoted through the tale (or actual record) of Dōhan's encounter and resultant iconography is that perception of the deity was an indication of Dohan's sincerity and a sign of the kami's approval of Dōhan's approach to doctrinal study – which could buttress it against accusations of doctrinal study as merely a means to worldly profit (as is the alleged error of the Nara monks in *Shasekishū*.) The tale of Dōhan, then, counterpoints that of the monk of Mujū's tale. The *Takusenki* extended specific warning about this kind of conduct too. "Those with disharmony in their hearts, who profess to have wisdom and follow the Dharma, [but] whose outer behavior is empty, are contradictory" it proclaims.[584] "Inner and outer is the proper, true meaning [of the Buddhist teachings]….Therefore, in front of the Myōjin trace-form [suijaku], [the Myōjin] will be joyful. However, residing in honor and reputation, and enjoying excess, this is surely contrary to the will of the gods."[585]

[584] *Takusenki*, 1:19.

[585] *Takusenki*, 1:19.

It continues by addressing scholarship more specifically: "Even if one is studying and training, having excessive pride and [hankering for] honor makes that training empty."[586] Also, "[t]hose who with disharmony in their hearts profess wisdom and [knowledge of] the Dharma will gain not at all."[587]

The tales of Dōhan's ability to engage with the kami to the extent that he could depict its face when read against the similar Nara-linked tales suggests, however indirectly, that organized doctrinal study, aiming to be on a par with that of Nara, was associated with *Dōhan*. The comparison with Nara, on an institutional level, is also found in the *hyōbyaku* associated with the monthly *mondō* that I look at below. Of comparative interest to these accounts of monks' perception of kami is *Takusenki*'s (slightly obscure) explanation of the reasons why a kami may be visually perceptible through yōgō. Approach to study is not included even though overall good behavior is:

> Daishi Myōjin manifests three times every day. There are manifestations at all temple residences; these have been seen and known. Even for those monks with disharmonious hearts, the three times is [because of] compassion. [Of] the three [chances] to see, even if one can see and know for two of those times, as to [the issue of] whether one of these can be actually seen or not, this is to be put aside for now. If one is able to see three times [these are the types]: by [the result of] one's own [disciplines], or you were helped not to enter a bad way, or it was just [a] natural [occurrence].[588]

These accounts of *mondō* with kami may be further understood in the context of contemporary ideas concerning the balance of study with ritual/ascetic practice. For

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[586] *Takusenki*, 1:20.

[587] *Takusenki*, 1:21.

[588] *Takusenki*, 1:24.

example, Dōhan's teacher, Kakukai, of Keōin at Kōyasan wrote, in his tract *Kakukai Hokyo Hogo* 覚海法橋法語 that those students who sought only honor through study would be visited by divine punishment. Just as in *Shasekishū* there is an admonition that persistence must be not for personal gain and devoid of the desire for enlightenment. Kakukai ends his statement with a vow that if it were not true he would invoke upon himself the punishment of the kami, also recalling the trope observed in Mujū's tale. He remarks, too, that study and practice should be inseparable, yet most do not view them this way: "These days it is rare to find someone who acknowledges that practice and study are non-dual." Kakukai's work was a kana *hōgō* – a tract – for anyone who could read kana. *Shasekishū* too was written using kana and was aimed at a popular audience. Both reflect notions that were not specialized or secret, exclusive ones.

Kakukai's exhortions may have had an effect on his student Dōhan and on notions regarding him, and scholarship at the time. However, the ascription to Dohan of the new iconography of the kami is slightly problematic. In fact, other sources such as the 1292 *Kōyasan Daidenbōin hongan Reizui narabi ni jike engi* 高野山大伝法院本願霊瑞寺家縁起, a collection of tales about Kakuban and Negoroji, edited by Kakuman, suggest it originated with the "vision" (*kantoku*) of a deity in a white robe and an *eboshi* hat by Kakuban (1095-1143) and that the shrine in Neo-Shingon (Shingi Shingon) was comprised of the *chūō butsubu* (中央仏 central group of buddhas), Amaterasu, Hachiman and Kasuga. On the left was the Rengebu (Lotus section) and Niu Daimyōjin, and on the right the

Kongōbu (Diamond section) and Koya Myojin.[589] A slightly earlier record of 1201 reports that one of the male kami worshipped at Koya holds a '*saku*' (scepter): "The second miya [shrine] is Kōya with a layperson's body, holding a scepter."[590]

Although this is an element shared by both the *Yōgō* and the aristocratic versions of Kōya Myōjin, it was certainly not an attribute of the hunter appearance, and this indicates that a new iconography was already functioning as early as 1201. The ramifications of the possible usurpation of a vision-inspired iconography are of interest, especially as Kakuban was a symbol of the revival of scholarship and ritual debate, but was also the founder of Daidenbōin, the Kōyasan temple antagonistic to Kongōbuji, the conflict between which led to Dōhan's exile. In any case, the Yōgō Myojin iconography does not appear in any extant paintings until the Muromachi period, though a black-robed or white-robed Myōjin appearance (rather than a hunter's one) is explained in *Takusenki*: "When the secular form [*zokutai*] was shown in a dream the robe was either white or black.[591] Because of this, laypeople have doubts, so (Myōjin's answer is as follows). Black and white are, together, the color of Honji. White is the color of the pure *honshō* (本性; original nature)[592]. Black[593] is the color of *suijaku* robes of the highest rank."[594]

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[589] Hinonishi Shinjō, "Amano no Yanagisawa Myōjin: toku ni Koya Myōjin to no kanren ni tsuite" in *Sangaku shugen* 7 (1991-92), 80-81.

[590] *Daishi Gyōke Ki* 大師行化記 by Gyōhen 行遍 in KDDZ, 149.

[591] From artistic depictions of the kami, one can assume it is the attire of Koya Myōjin that is being discussed here.

[592] This means, Dainichi Nyorai itself.

[593] Generally speaking, in Shingon, white signifies purity (*keppaku*) and the original nature of all sentient beings as well as Dainichi Nyorai (and is the colour of Dainichi Nyorai). As a symbol of removal from all impurity it is used in the Sokusai-hō ritual that destroys transgressions and desires, and aids in the avoidance of calamities and suffering. Black has the meaning of making things

The necessity for changing the iconography may also be discerned in the demographic of the mountain during Dōhan's time. Dōhan was a scholar monk (*gakuryo*), one of a group of educated and privileged members of the community who were (at least nominally) distinguished from two other monastic groups residing on the mountain at the time: the *gyōnin* (or "workers") who attended to manual labor, and who were also responsible for the upkeep of the mausoleum where Kōbō Daishi was enshrined in his eternal meditation, and the *hijiri* who were itinerant monks that travelled to raise funds for Kōyasan. The latter would also collect bones from far-off regions to bring back and bury on the mountain where they could enjoy the shared sacred space near to Kōbō Daishi, and await Maitreya along with the living followers. Since Dōhan was a prominent and highly-ranked Chūin-ryū member, he (or his lineage followers in their portrayals of him) may have wished to elevate Kariba Myōjin from his hunterly associations, which – if we are to accept Gorai's theory – signified Kariba Myōjin's relationship to the *gyōnin*.[595] The mountain's ties to the land that the kami proved could be legitimized even further, perhaps, with a raising of their status – conveyed pictorially. There is also a possibility that the hunter kami was made to look more like the kami iconography set out in the last four fascicles of the *Reikiki* (麗気記 attributed to (among others) Kūkai),[596] and thus the change was linked with

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disappear or hiding them, and so it is used in the Chōbuku ritual against enemies. In mountain religions especially, white—in the context of attire—also strongly connects to death.

[594] *Takusenki*, 1:74.

[595] Gorai, "Shugendo Lore."

[596] The origins of the *Reikiki* are obscure, but a reference to it by Watarai Ieyuki 度会家行 in *Ruiju jingi hongen* 類聚神祇本源 shows that it existed by 1320. It is likely a Kamakura period text of between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and evidences Shingon, Tendai, and Ise Shrine ideas. See Fabio Rambelli "The Ritual World of Buddhist "Shinto": The Reikiki and

the growth of interest in Kūkai, as well as the development of shintō (or *jingi* 神祇) kanjō 灌頂 (initiation rituals related to teachings on the kami which were modeled on the Shingon *denbō kanjō* 伝法灌頂; Dharma transmission initiation, and replete with imperial imagery) in the medieval period which utilized the *Reikiki*. The *Reikiki* was one of the most significant texts related to Ryōbu Shintō. This is only a speculation and requires further inquiry. Certainly, since the *Shinto Kanjō* involved the identification of the self with the kami, there may be a connection with the apparent identification of debate candidate with kami, which was explored in the previous chapter.

2. Painting for the Chigo Mondō-kō

The picture of *mondō* 問答-like question and answer session that emerges in the hagiographical accounts of Dōhan suggests doctrinal debate, or at least teaching of doctrine. As noted, kami had always been the recipient audience of *hōraku* offerings of sutra chanting or Dharma debate; this was part of their incorporation into Buddhist institutions. But in around the twelfth century we see interchanges being related that are between monks and kami in *mondō* as well as the incorporation of kami as icons in debates and in the preparatory rituals for the candidates. Even the formulation of debate questions takes place through, ostensibly, a dream, as indicated in the Kōfukuji Yuima-e debate's *Yume no gi.* Why have paintings of the kami (rather than of buddhas or bodhisattvas) been

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Initiations on Kami-Related Matters (*jingi kanjō*) in Late Medieval and Early Modern Japan," in *Japanese Journal Religious Studies* 29.3-4 (2002), 265-297 on the characteristics of the text—which is a miscellanea of ritual, lineages, doctrines and so on—and on the shintō/Reikiki kanjō.

suggested as having been used in both the Chigo Mondō-kō and the Rissei Rongi doctrinal debates, as well as in the monastic preparatory rites for the latter? Evidence to support this suggestion is rather scarce and mostly speculative (there is no consensus at all among scholars) but I will suggest why kami and their representations were (in general) related to debates, even if the paintings themselves were not used in them. One of the simplest reasons is surely that the kami themselves are recounted as requesting the debates. In the case of the Chigo Mondō-kō, this was via a monk's dream (that of Kaison), and in the case of the Rissei Rongi it was via an oracle delivered by unspecified medium. Because of this, they were held as *shinbōraku* (offerings to the kami) and sited appropriately at, respectively, Amanosha (in the foothills of Kōyasan) and the Sannōin (Mountain King Hall) that faces open to the shrines at Kōyasan.[597] Icons surmised to have been related to debates studied by Kageyama, Gorai, Miyazaki, Kadoya, and Hinonishi include the so-called "Mondōkō zu," (Painting for the Mondō Assembly. Fig. 7) possibly used at either the Chigo Mondōkō [598] in 1291 or in around 1367, when the assembly was revived (this history was briefly given in the previous chapter). This large painting, of which there are very few copies, depicts a triad of Kōbō Daishi, and the two kami "floating" between the landscapes of Amano and Okuno'in. Also proposed as having been a debate icon is the above-mentioned diptych, and two copies of the Kariba Myōjin (copies of one part of the

[597] The present Sannō'in dates from 1594 and the shrines it faces from 1522, but these are rebuildings of pre-existing structures.

[598] This is proposed, for example, by Kadoya ("Niutsuhime shōkō"). We can assume that the Mondōkō took place regularly, so it is possible that the *honzon* used was not always the same one and that there were developments in the imagery accompanying developments in the assembly itself. Hamada Takashi 濱田隆, "Mondōkō honzonzu (Kōbō Daishi oyobi Niu Kōya Ryō Myōjin zō) 問答講本尊図 (弘法大師及び丹生高野両明神像)," in *Bijutsushi* 美術史 43 (Feb, 1962), 91-93 has discussed another painting that has been entitled *Mondōkō honzon zū*.

diptych), which are kept at Dōhan's former residence Shōchi'in (Fig.12), and Ryūkō-in (also (and originally) called Chūin) (Fig.8), both important scholarly temples of the Chūin lineage. These two are the closest in age to the Kongōbuji diptych. Thus, the only temples known to have medieval Kariba Myōjin are the most prominent Chūin affiliated ones, strongly supporting my contention, which is buttressed by the texts and, to be discussed below, the figures linked to them, that these paintings were produced under the auspices of scholar monks of this specific lineage, especially figures around or who followed Dōhan.[599]

Another contender as (Chigo Mondōkō) debate icon is a (purported) set of paintings from the Kamakura period and the Muromachi period of, respectively, Yōgō Myōjin (Fig.12) and the Chigo Daishi ("Daishi as a Child")[600] (Fig.12), both owned by Dōhan's residence Shōchi'in.[601] It has alternatively been suggested that the Kongōbuji diptych was originally a triptych with a Chigo Daishi in the center: Kadoya Atsushi suggests that the two paintings were hung either side of the Kobe Kosetsu Museum's *Chigo Daishi zō* as a *honzon* for the Chigo Rongi debate.[602] These two paintings are of course clearly a set. The content of the inscriptions indicate specific connections to texts related to the previously mentioned Dōhan – they may have belonged to his residential temple originally, though there is no record to support this. There is an alternate set suggested as having been used at the *Mondōkō*. A triad of paintings kept at Koya's Shōchi'in, the one-time residence of

[599] Another copy of the Kongōbuji pair, quite close in date to it, though far from Kōyasan, is kept at the Saitama Prefectural Museum of History and Folklore, having originally been at Saitama's Hōonji 法恩寺 temple.

[600] Both of these are owned by Dōhan's temple, Shochi'in.

[601] See Reihokan ed., *Kōyasan Shōchi'in no rekishi to bijutsu*, for this suggestion.

[602] Kadoya, "Niutsuhime shōkō," 52.

Dohan - have been proposed as copies of the honzon used at either Amano or at Sannōin: a Chigo Daishi (Kōbō Daishi as a child), a Kariba Myōjin, the hunter deity of the engi, who guides Kūkai to the site that will become Kongōbuji, and a Yōgo Myōjin. Shōchiin records attest that that these paintings have been passed down as a set. However, Kariba Myōjin and Yōgō Myōjin are never seen together in a painting or triad. Yōgō Myōjin was considered a form of Kōya Myōjin while Kariba Myōjin is another, so such a triad formation is very unlikely. This is supported by the fact the measurements of Chigo and Kariba (both 61.6 x 36.5) are identical, while those of the Yōgō Myōjin are different – moreover, the style significantly diverges. The Yōgō Myōjin may have been made later and may have been an iconographical replacement for Kariba Myōjin with the third Niu Myojin component missing.[603]

Honzon related to the Jion-ne at Kōfukuji employed a set of paintings of the founder and a sacred child: Jion Daishi and Aka Dōji. The temple's young monks used a set of Chigo Monju (Child Manjusri) and Aka Dōji in their early training. The use of images of founder as child as a means of identification for young monks may be imagined at the Amano Chigo Mondō. It is possible that the earlier Amano-based Chigo Mondō employed a set of similar images of founder (Chigo Daishi) and of kami. Unfortunately, as yet, no firm evidence exists to determine the original paintings or their precise uses. The relocation of the *Mondō-kō* may have involved a change in honzon and indeed there is another (previously-mentioned) iconographical type, which has been related to the Chigo Mondōkō (Fig.7). This painting is presumed to have been the one that has also been put forward as a

[603] I have examined all the paintings mentioned except the Ryūkō-in painting and the Chigo Daishi kept at the Kosetsu Museum. I base my analysis in this dissertation on both previous research and my own examinations.

candidate for the original honzon of the *Chigo Mondokō*. All three figures—Daishi, and the two Myōjin—are depicted together, suggesting the possibility that a single large painting had replaced a triad of three separate paintings that had originally been used. The composition is notable for its novelty, and for the depiction of the landscape of Amano at the bottom and Okuno'in at the top. It is a variation of the *Shaji mandara* 社寺曼荼羅 that had become widespread from the thirteenth century onward and which display shrine and temple land integrated into one sacred space. Miya mandala, in the same genre, were used when rituals were performed far from the shrine and deities with which it was connected, that is, far from its original site of performance. As Hanazono Tenno wrote in 1325 of the *Kasuga miya mandara*, "[t]his evening in the crown prince's palace, Kiyotsune told us that for the past three or four years, paintings of the Kasuga shrine had been used to substitute for the rituals at the shrine. The painting depicting a view of the shrine is called mandara. Everyone seems to have one these days." In this case the capital was of a distance from Kasuga shrine sufficient to warrant the use of a representation as a substitute (which recalls the "borrowed scenery" of the kami-manifestation rock at Shōchi'in). The distance of Sannoin on top of Kōyasan from Amano where the *Mondō* had first taken place was also considerable. Perhaps the creation of a new mandara as a honzon had been necessitated by the relocation of the Mondō and for its imperial audience (Go-Uda Tennō and his entourage) who on that occasion presumably omitted the usual stop at Amano during pilgrimage. This painting is normally interpreted as an example of *shinbutsu shūgō*, the merging of Amano's deities with Kōbō Daishi and Kōyasan, or as a pictorialization of the apotheosis of Kōbō Daishi. But if the contemporary and later clues about the deities' function in mondō or doctrinal study in general are considered, it is possible to suggest that

it also depicts the ideal teaching relationship between monk and kami. Incidentally, this painting shows a third type of iconography of the deities (aristocratic but not "yōgō").

During the early seventeenth century, the head priest of Shinnō'in 親王院, the temple responsible for the establishment of the Chigo Mondō, donated a single painting (rather than three separate ones like the sets mentioned so far) to the "Mondō committee".[604] When Shinnō'in became responsible for the event after it relocated to Kōyasan, it in fact took place in thirteen temples at Koyasan. It was Shinnō'in's Shunkei (俊圭), who became Kongōbuji kengyō in 1621 that donated the Mondō painting and according to the inscription on it, it was stored in the Miedo storehouse[605] (as was the original, or a copy of *Takusenki* at the end of the Edo period). At the close of the first part of the *Takusenki* we find a mention of Shunkei:

> This is a copy by Kenchō 賢澄,[606] of Jōbutsu-in, of the Shōchiin book [*Takusen-ki*]. He was School Head of the Left and, at the time when the monks at Shōchiin were retrogressing, he stayed there and maintained Shōchiin's teachings. 6 years later, it [or they – all the *shōgyo* and teachings] was passed to Kaijō 快盛 He had this takusen record copied as a reward. That book was copied by Shinnō'in's Shunkei 俊圭, the Gondai Sozu 権大僧都 and School Head of the Left, and Kaijō's last follower [*deshi*]. And now it has been transmitted by the School Head of the Left, Shunkei, to Seiyū 清融[607] of Ichijō-in,[608] and he has copied it.
>
> ……[Date missing] 3rd year, 3rd month, 14th day. With humble respect this was copied by Seiyū.[609]

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[604] *Mondōkō-kesshūchū* 問答講結衆中.

[605] See Kōyasan Reihōkan ed., *Danjō garan to Okuno'in*, 159 and notes 42-43 for more details.

[606] There is no information so far available about this monk.

[607] This may be pronounced "Shōyū."

[608] Seiyū was a member of the Uesugi clan and the fourteenth head of Ichijō'in. He was also called Ryōnin-bō (良人坊) (*Zenkoku jiin meikan*, p.338).

[609] *Takusenki*, just beneath article 1:84.

In other words, this first section of the Takusenki is traced back to the text of Shōchi'in (i.e. a copy made by Dōhan of the text kept at Henmyō'in or the original transcription of the oracle, referred to here as "the text of Shōchi'in" (in which case refers to Dōhan himself rather than the place) and was copied by Kenchō, then Kaijō (who became *kengyō* in 1643), followed by Shunkei, and finally Seiyū. All these monks were School Heads, except Kaijō, details of whose life is scarce. This is the copy-transmission of this particular text: it traces itself back to the "original" (whether a genuine statement of lineage or a legitimizing strategy is unclear; the copying of sacred texts and transmission of teachings from master to student needless to say employ the same strategies and are subject to the same scrutiny both within and outside the tradition). Why was the text copied, why at these times, why by these figures/institutions, and for what purpose(s)? As School Head of the Left, Shunkei would likely have been involved in Mondo administration. That Kenchō, Shunkei, and Seiyū were all School Heads of the Left [610] might indicate a link between position and the transmission of the *Takusenki*. The School Head posts (of the Left (Sagakutō 左学頭) and of the Right (Ugakutō 右学頭) (titles not unique to Kōyasan) were established by Kakuban when he revived the Denbōdai-e assembly and were titles of the most highly accomplished scholarly monks. Again, more questions remain than answers can be given, but it is of note that the reason given for the copying of *Takusenki* is that the monks were "retrogressing:" forgetting the teachings and essentially contributing to a

[610] It appears that sometime after Yūkai (who was also School Head of the Left), or during his time, the title of kanju 貫主 was added to these two titles, to comprise a set called "San jōgō 三" and that their designation was thereafter made by the Sōgō Council.

decline. This fear of decline seems to have prompted *Takusenki* itself, originally, as well as the takusen inscriptions on the paintings that were distributed as *kirigami*. Shunkei's ownership of the painting used for the Chigo Mondōkō, his administration of the event as head of the temple where it was first (literally) dreamt up, his status as one of the most accomplished scholars, and his ownership of a copy of *Takusenki* seem intriguingly linked, but we can only say that the link may be simply that the contents of *Takusenki* were the pronouncements of chigo, who as we see from in a line *Takusenki* itself and a later mention in a chronicle which are both given at the opening of this chapter were uniquely linked to the Myōjin. And these were essential "doctrinal" pronouncements about Kōyasan specifically which were queried and transcribed and treasured by the high scholars of the time; which became a *shōgyō* for the Chūinryū; and which derived from the greatest teacher: Daishi Myōijn. The custodianship of both painting and text at Shinnō'in is likely no coincidence.

3. Paintings as providers of living encounters

The Kōyasan painted works depicted (or/and illustrated through inscriptions) an "original encounter," in order, I suggest, that the viewer re-experience and reinstate it. This idea echoes Victor Turner's drama theory of ritual, which Abe Ryūichi (on Japanese ritual) refers to in his examination of "the *living* quality of Dharma transmission."[611] Turner writes that "[i]n ritual *one lives through events*, or through the alchemy of its framings and

[611] Victor Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure, (London: Penguin Books, 1974), Abe *From Kūkai to Kakuban*, 7.

symbolings, *re-lives semiogenetic events*, the *deeds and words of prophets and saints*, or if these are absent, myths and sacred epics."[612] Abe responds, "Buddhist ritual can be understood as *a dramatic enactment* of scriptural accounts and the reality they point to. The scriptures are scripts; rituals, their dramatic productions."[613] He also notes that this is especially apposite in the case of the ritual of Dharma transmission, although he shifts his own focus from one of transmission as performance to transmission as textual understanding; Buddhist hermeneutics. The paintings of Kōbō Daishi encountering the hunter kami Kariba Myōjin that I introduce here were, though, a visual re-enactment (this enactment was incorporated into ritual procedure as well, as discussed in the previous chapter). These paintings and the rituals are examples of Turner's "re-living" and Abe's "enactments." They are also examples of the "doubles" which Bernard Faure discusses: the category includes relics, icons, portraits, and manifestations in dreams.[614] Kōyasan may have used painted images of the kami just as Kōfukuji used images of the merchant Vimalakīrti and Manjusri in the specific scene of one of the most famous of Buddhist debates. This debate had inspired Kōfukuji's own debate, and icons of the two figures that adorned—and perhaps animated—the hall. In turn, Kōyasan Kongōbuji (in a further act of mimesis) consciously employed Kōfukuji's debate as a template for its own, though whether it used art in the same way is another question left for future research.

Furthermore, since the conventions dictating the kami paintings were rarely deviated from, and were "repeated" by being copied, other copied paintings of the kami

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[612] My italics.

[613] Abe *From Kūkai to Kakuban*, 11. My italics.

[614] Faure, The Rhetoric of Immediacy, 176.

placed in various temples were established as original encounters to be visually re-experienced (like "borrowed scenery"), as mentioned above. Both the production, copying and distribution of these paintings were methods utilized by the Chūin-ryū for spreading and consolidating their lineage as dominant, and cementing and centralizing power. Content and treatment together performed these functions: they contained visual and textual information about the lineage, and their presence in many temples and certain rituals instilled lineage authority. The copies of the Kongōbuji diptych that exist are for the most part not of the pair but of just one of the two paintings. That the copies in any form using faithfully maintained iconographies were made (including as *ema* amulets, and merchandise design today) alerts us to their importance, an importance different but no less significant than that of "unique pieces." Karen Brock has pointed this out in reference to the existence of copies in her study of paintings of Sumiyoshi and Kasuga Myōjin.[615] When images that are mass-produced and mass-distributed are given less attention than "unique" pieces, certain assumptions about how images function emerge (though one may argue that, conversely, the division of attention is based on such assumptions), and these effectively curtail the ways in which we think about them.[616] If a copy is reductively considered inferior to an original, we miss the function of mimesis and even omnipresence it may perform. Another case that demonstrates the importance of copies at Kōyasan is the "portrait" in painted or sculptural form of Kōbō Daishi which rarely deviates (as a *honzon*, at least) from the "original" form made, allegedly, by Shinnyo, his disciple (at Henmyō'in).

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[615] Brock, Karen L. ""*My Reflection Should be your Keepsake.*"

[616] Stanley K. Abe makes a case for this in his study of art in China, appropriately entitled *Ordinary Images* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

However, there are variations in the portrayal of Kōbō Daishi when he is with the kami, to be discussed. There is a meaning for the allegiance to an original form and of multiple copies of paintings in the cases of both the founder and the *kami*: the "portraits" were readily recognizable representations of their objects; they functioned as a kind of omnipresence; and they represented a form of community consolidation through recognition of and relation to identical images. Of course, verisimilitude by virtue of proximity to an original has bestowed a greater holiness in a visual representation in other traditions too: for example, the impression of Christ's face on the veil of Veronica. Close copies, as here, are a type of relic.[617] Allegiance to form is common for many Buddhist icons because worship and ritual efficacy depend/ed on adherence to iconography recorded in manuals but in the case of the representation of the historical Buddha, the distinctive Seiryōji Buddha is an example of a form based on an encounter then faithfully replicated. Francesca Cho remarks that such images are similar to relics in that they "make the absent Buddha present through synecdoche and contact" but she quotes Trainor who posits that images are different from relics "since images, unlike relics, can be reproduced endlessly."[618] But in fact, relics in medieval Japan *could* proliferate, by way of miracle or recipe: often they were produced rather than received.[619] Kami representations could also depend on original first encounters (visions and manifestations), and in the exactly same

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[617] See David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[618] Kevin Trainer, Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda Tradition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 30-31, quoted in Francesca Cho, *Seeing Like the Buddha: Enlightenment through Film*, (New York: SUNY Press, 2017), 11.

[619] See Brian D. Ruppert, Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan, (Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 151-153.

way as a Buddha-image-as relic would, I propose, function as site of re-encounter - and thus a source of power. Empowerment occurs through linking in some concrete (and mimetic or associative) way back to an origin[620]: it is not the relic in itself that is powerful but the *transmission* (from an origin) that animates it, and in turn animates icons into which it was often inserted. It is of no insignificance that today, when a kami painting for a debate is ceremonially transported to the residential temple of a debate candidate, a "Buddha relic" is carefully transported along with it. The enlivening of an icon is found in yet another hagiographical account of Dōhan. A portrait of him was said to have instructed and corrected students during their discussions: "Regarding the painting of Kōya Myōjin's yōgō, during this period, there was a portrait of Dōhan, which was of unparalleled mystery. One day a *mōnkō* (問講 doctrinal discussion involving inquiries) took place in front of that portrait, and one monk's point was refuted as a distortion of Dōhan's interpretations, and a voice came forth from that portrait saying [indeed] it had never said such a thing, and everyone at the gathering was terrified."[621]

Here the yōgō painting has the capability of identifying interpretational faults in doctrinal discussions, which adds a dimension not only to our understanding of the use of kami paintings or the presence of kami at mondō, but also the role of paintings of the past masters at such gatherings and events. A relation can be seen between the painting, takusen and viewer here: takusen are believed possible to occur through the image of the deity. It is

[620] In Gombrich's well-known paper on icon empowerment he describes, for example, the transferal of power from a Buddhist sculptor's gaze into water (a property that enables mimesis) so it can be disarmed. Richard Gombrich, "The Consecration of a Buddhist Image," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26.1 (1966), 23-36.

[621] *Yasan Myōreiki*, 15.

not only in hagiography that we find such apparent miracles though. A similar process is mentioned at end of *Takusenki*. The transcriber (probably Dōhan) goes through the record of the oracle to check they are correct in front of the kami. We can assume that this means either in front of the newly constructed altar with a kami invoked to it, or perhaps at the *yōgō* rock, as there is no existing painting of Daishi Myōjin, and the expression used (*yōgō*) is not used to refer to the state of a kami possessing a human body: "If this record differs from the takusen, an apology will be made. To say the reason why it should be shown[?], one will read aloud in front of the manifestation (於影向之御前) removing errors one by one. It should be written neatly as soon as possible (quickly)."[622]

And so, visual and ritual culture can radically re-empower (re-enact) an "original" presence or situation. Genealogy, in these cultural forms, is linked to reproduction in a quite literal manner (as mimesis) and the way in which images in East Asia—and in Japan in particular—are or have been considered "living" and miraculous may through this case be affirmed in a new way. The illuminations offered by essays in Sharf and Sharf's 2001 volume regarding icons that have not merely been conveyers of (largely symbolic) meaning or considered solely in terms of formal beauty but possessed a numinous vitality that elicited particular reactions and required certain kinds of management (following an initial animation) applies to the Kōyasan kami paintings too. This research, which focused specifically on Japanese Buddhist icons, was enriched and confirmed by the works of Gombrich and Davis (both earlier than that of the Sharfs), and of Sarah J. Horton, and

[622] *Takusenki*, 2:50.

many others.[623] Such observations are helpful as a corrective to earlier studies that, in a search for "true" or "authentic" Buddhism, excised what appeared to be occult or magical aspects. Their authors consigned such to the categories of legend, apocrypha, hagiography, or even ignorance, failing to acknowledge a fully functioning historical episteme, or to discern the narrative significance of the categories assigned, or the colonialist biases of these assumptions. The "eye-opening" ceremonies common in the production of Buddhist icons across Asia and the *hibutsu* (Buddhist icons that are "secret" and hidden away from sight except (in some cases) on special occasions,[624] (and similarly concealed kami icons) are the simplest examples of the more recent (non-practitioner) understanding and appreciation of sacred images. In fact, the Yōgō Myōjin, apparently the honzon of the Rissei debate preparatory rites, is always kept covered and never exposed, even to the ritualist using it. Certainly, the use of paintings and sculptures considered too powerful to be seen must give us pause if we assume that debates and the preparation for them, themselves, were "rationalistic" and philosophical endeavors, separate from degenerate superstitions in "living images."

I have noted that the hagiographical account of Dōhan's production of the new iconography, which was specifically linked to mondō and thus to scholarship, both in trope of doctrinal questioning and facial exposure resonated with a contemporaneous discourse about Nara scholar monks and their virtue. There is a text used in kami offerings that

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[623] Gombrich, "The Consecration of a Buddhist Image," Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf: Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context, Richard H. Davis, *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions*, (Westview Press, 1988), and Sarah J. Horton, *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan*, (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2007).

[624] See Fabio Rambelli, "Secret Buddhas: The Limits of Buddhist Representation," *Monumenta Nipponica* 57. 3 (2001), 271-307.

concerns scholarship and reflects Kōyasan's aspirations regarding Nara, the illustrious center of scholarship and debates, composed by the monk Kakuwa 覚和 (c.1260-c.1324).[625] Kakuwa was another of the "great eight" scholars of Kōyasan Kongōbuji, a second generation deshi of Kakukai, and worked with fellow followers Shinken, Shinnichi, and Genkai to rebuild scholarly institutions after the mid-thirteenth century conflicts and exiles.[626] The text in question is *Niu Kōya Ryōsho Daimyōjin Hyōhyaku* 丹生高野両所大明神表百, written in 1319) (*Invocation and Statement of Ritual Purpose to Niu and Kōya Ryōsho Daimyōjin*) which was used in the regular offering to the kami held on the 16th of each month, (and when the Chigo Mondō-kō first took place, at Amanosha, it was also on the 16th; temporal correspondences, in order to effect "connection" were always of importance). This, incidentally, involves a Go Takusen In 御託宣印 mudra which is listed in the procedure manual, and the form of which a secret oral transmission.

Kakuwa's is a prayer for the fulfillment of the "good vows" of the monks of the ranks of Jōgō; the School Heads of the Right and the Left; and the scholar monks, making the concerns of the prayer clear: it is for the scholar monks of the highest caliber and rank. Here, the protection of the success of the scholar monks along with the increase of offerings to Yōgō Myōjin, the increase of the "authorial light" of Ryōsho Gongen (Kariba Myōijn and Niu Myōjin – which indicates Yōgō Myōjin was seen as a distinct entity), and the extension of merit of the rite to the Dharmadhatu (*hōkai* 法界) and all sentient beings are prayed for. Yōgō Myōjin is, in fact, the entity to whom the *hōraku* is made, indicating that

[625] For introductory information on Kakuwa, see Chapter 1

[626] See Chapter 1.

Yōgō Myōjin was considered a specific object of worship. We may, here, discern a connection between the Yōgō Myōjin that Dōhan was said to have engaged in mondō with, and the Yōgō Myōjin that is depicted in the *honzon* of the later Rissei Rongi preparatory rites (the Gohonjiku). Kakuwa's *hyohyaku* invocation explains *honji-suijaku* at Kōyasan. The honmon 本門 is given as Taizōkai, and the shakumon 迹門 as Kongōkai: "The "Origin teaching" is the Womb World, and the manifest world is the Diamond World." This makes the two worlds (two mandalas) a *honji suijaku* construct. "Honmon" and "shakumon" come from Lotus Sutra Tendai exegeses and refer to the teaching of the "Buddha in its original ground" and *shakumon* to the "trace teaching" of the historical Buddha (i.e., Shakamuni). In Kakuwa's text these two worlds are then called *naishō* (内証; the inner realization of enlightenment) and this inner realization is further called *shōchi hōmi* 聖智法味– the "taste" of the sacred wise Dharma, and the accompanying *geyō* (外用; outer action, or actions that manifest inner enlightenment) are equaled to the *ryōsho* (the two tutelary shrines, Niu and Kōya/Kariba Myōjin. Beings that have the *naishō* that is manifest in *geyō* are called "clever beings" and they occupy the nine worlds beneath that of the Buddha in the ten-world Buddhist cosmological scheme (*jikkai*).[627] Finally, the harmonious fusion, or interdependence (*wagō*) of those is likened to the perfectly fitted box and its lid. This is a *Ryōbu Shinto* interpretation, which includes "inner" and "outer" dimensions and the imagery of a lidded box.

Following this comes an interesting comparison of the Gongen deities of the tutelary shrines of Kōyasan (Ryōsho Gongen) with the kami of Kōfukuji in Nara (Kasuga

[627] For a roughly contemporaneous explanation, see Kakukai, "Hokkyō hōgo."

(here, "Shunnichi") Gongen) and of Hieizan (Hie Sannō). The invocation is addressed to "the two tutelary deities of this mountain that protect Mikkyō, the twelve Ōshi [princely entourage] and all the summoned kami and the gathered buddhas numberless as the sands of the Ganges, all the various kami…" before a rich lunar and aqua language is used to describe the kami of other great temple-shrine complexes. Whilst it is emphasized that the kami and buddhas are separate entities, their relationship is described as that of response between moon and water. In the case of Kasuga, the relationship is delineated through the link of kami and the light of the moon pouring over Mount Mikasa, and in the case of Hiei Sannō, the link of the kami and the water of the shore of the lake of Shiga no Ura, and shadow. The *gongen* of Kōyasan are introduced into this scheme as operating in a moon-water relationship, which seems to have been drawn from the Tendai metaphors. The analogy of moon on water as origin and manifestation derives from Chih-i's Tendai: writes Stone, "In Chih-i's thought, the Buddha of the trace teaching is likened to the reflection of the moon on water, while the Buddha of the origin teaching is likened to the moon in the sky". [628] *Honji-suijaku* thought itself originated in Tendai Lotus Sutra exegetical texts. In Japan, the spatially and temporally transcendent Buddhist deities came to be identified with local kami and with specific locations in the Nara and Heian periods. This process was explained by employing the language of *honji-suijaku*. In this paradigm, the Buddha of the first fourteen chapters – or "trace teaching" (*shakumon*) of the Lotus Sutra is the manifest trace (*suijaku*) who manifested as the historical Buddha and the Buddha of the latter fourteen chapters, the *honmon* (origin teaching) is the *honji*, the "original ground" of the Buddha. As Stone remarks, when the relation between origin and manifestation was applied

[628] Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 41 and 200.

to the relation between Buddhas and kami "it became possible to conceive of the deities, not merely as protectors of Buddhism or as suffering beings in need of Buddhist salvation, but as local manifestations of the transcendent Buddhas and bodhisattvas, compassionately projected as "skillful means" to lead the people of Japan to enlightenment." [629] In this *hyōhyaku*, the kami are conceived within this *honji-suijaku* paradigm, though Kakuwa draws the idea out so that ultimately the two kami are representative of inner enlightenment and outer realization which themselves are linked to Taizōkai and Kongōkai. Kōyasan, at the time, by way of its geographical embeddedness in the center of a ring of peaks was seen as the lotus of the Taizōkai. The kami here are indeed far from "merely protectors" or "suffering beings in need of Buddhist salvation," as the idea of sutras, debates and lectures as offerings to kami would suggest. Kakuwa goes on to announce: "At this shrine, the Gongen were ordered by our patriarch teacher to settle in the eight-petalled lotus peak and contracted to protect Mikkyō, to maintain the prosperity of *Sanmitsu Kongō* [三密金剛; the diamond of the three secrets], and accordingly to protect the scholar monks. And every month at the time when connection can be attained (*uen no jisetsu* 有縁之時節), for one day a *musō no kouseki* 無相之講席 is held, an offering to the kami is arranged and made."

This prayer-invocation gives us some indications of the way that kami were conceived at the time of the systematization of mondō as monthly and annual offerings to them. This conception was developed by the scholar monks because it was they who composed such invocations, and who participated in the debate rituals and associated rituals. It therefore is reasonable to expect other works, and activities, by the scholar

[629] Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 41.

monks, to reflect these ideas about the kami, or to be sources of information about these ideas. The comparison between Kōyasan with Kasuga shrine and its Myōjin is, in terms of artistic developments, of further interest in. Miyazaki has pointed out the striking similarities between the *jisha mandara* of Kōyasan of the 13th century with those of Kasuga.[630] The above-mentioned Chigo Mondōkō zu is one such. The link between the mondō systems clear from the fact that the Rissei Rongi (as it was named at Kōyasan was imported from Kōfukuji-Kasuga, albeit a little later in 1407). Kōyasan identifies itself in this *hyōhyaku* as on a par – competing, or even as part of a triumverate – with Kōfukuji (Hossō school) and Hiei-zan (Enryakuji) (Tendai school and "Sanno Shinto") who were both major economic and political players as temple complexes and as participants in debates that led to participation in politics. Tendai, in the 11th C, had been granted the *Hokkyō sanne* by the state (Emperors Gosanjo and Shirakawa). These were the three debates (the "Three Heian (or, Kyoto) Assemblies" recalling and contrasting to the three assemblies of Nara) which were more favorable to Tendai, and probably also to the court and balanced out the fact that Hossō monks had up to that time dominated the debates and ecclesiastical positions. Tendai's debates were the Hokke-e (Lotus Assembly), Saishō-e (Golden Light Assembly), and the Daijō-e (Mahayana Assembly). Kakuwa's invocation reveals philosophical concepts that underpinned Kōyasan's interpretation of its kami and the meaning of an offering of a debate to them. It also shows the consciousness of the scholarly community vis-à-vis the other powerful scholarly temple complexes of the time.

The kinds of textual inscriptions on the Kongōbuji diptych (discussed in detail in Chapter 3), are normally encased in *shikishi* cartouches and often found on paintings of this

[630] Kōyasan Reihōkan ed., *Danjō Garan to Okuno'in, Kōyasan no Kokuhō*, 143-162.

period. They are usually *sanbun* (讃文 lit. "words of praise") on portraits of monks, nobles, buddhas and bodhisattvas. These would typically include biographical details of the subject, or poetry written by the subject. In the case of text on kami paintings, we find examples such as account of the *yōgō* of the individual kami "portrait" of Seiryū Gongen (清滝 or 青竜, protector of Shingon Buddhism at Jingōji temple in Kyoto, thought to have been invoked from Chang'an by Kūkai, and later enshrined at Daigōji after which she had manifested in a dream to a resident monk). Similarly, a partial account of a manifestation is found on the Kongōbuji diptych (and on a later Edo period painting of Nyohō Shōnin, discussed in Chapter 4). Paintings of Myōe's Kasuga and Sumiyoshi contain empty *shikishi*. Brock speculates poetry or the content of their takusen had been intended here. In fact, takusen often took the form of poems, as one of the inscriptions on the Kongōbuji paintings shows. The texts have been described as "takusen-rashiki" ("oracle-like") (by Kageyama)[631] and have not been accorded a significant place in any of the research on the paintings. Abe has explained some of the sources and provided information about the provenance of them. He suggested that they were related to the ritual use of the paintings and chanted by Myōjin-kō members - but provides no support for this suggestion.[632] I will now propose some evidence to support this suggestion. Today, it is the Yōgō Myōjin scroll painting that is hung during an assembly that follows completion of the Rissei Rongi, the *Shukurō Myōjin-kō*.[633] Hinonishi calls this a *senso-kō* (ancestor worship gathering),[634]

[631] Kageyama, "Kōyasan ni okeru Kōya Niu ryō Myōjin."

[632] Abe states plainly that the Kongōbuji diptych was used in the Myōjin-kō, and suggests that the cartouche inscriptions were chanted aloud. *Chūsei Kōyasan engi shū*, 1999, 359.

[633] Kōyasan Reihōkan ed., *Kōyasan Shōchi'in no rekishi to bijutsu.*

which aligns with the suggestions I have made so far of links between ancestral worship and scholarship rites concerning kami. The candidates of the most prestigious debates engaged in practices that resemble possession-related procedures or involve invocations of kami for oracular procurement when preparing for their debuts, are said to represent the kami, and even take on the names of the deities. After the Rissei debate, the debate participants are elected into what is called this "elders' kami confraternity" - *Shukurō Myōjin-kō* 宿老明神講. There is another, separate Myōjin-kō which takes place monthly, and one of these held annually is a special "Hiki-myōjin-kō" which is hosted by the deputy head of Kōyasan before he withdraws to become promoted to head (Hōin). The monthly confraternity meetings are also sometimes used as an opportunity to settle important decisions in the community.[635] These however are described here based on present day practices and while they may not have been the same in the medieval period, some kind of Myōjin-kō did take place. We know this because a Myōjin *kōshiki* was composed in the thirteenth century for the Kōyasan kami by Shōso (a contemporary of Dohan's (and who had written in support of his return from exile), his fellow follower of Kakukai, and a resident of Shinnan'in, a Chūinryū associated cloister). A *kōshiki* is a kind of liturgical text, chanted, that was comprised of a statement of intent for the assembly to take place which also included passages of prose, and often verse in Chinese and Sanskrit.[636] Guelberg, who

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[634] Hinonishi, Shinjō, "Amano no Yanagisawa Myōjin: toku ni Kōya Myōjin to no kanren ni tsuite," 84.

[635] See Yamada, *Kōyasan jisō shōjiten*, 114-115.

[636] See Barbara R. Ambros, James L. Ford and Michaela Mross, "Editors' Introduction: Kōshiki in Japanese Buddhism," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 43.1 (2016), 1-15.

has compiled a database on *kōshiki*, notes that the oldest *kō* began in the tenth century[637] and the oldest *jingi kōshiki* (*kōshiki* for non-buddhas/bodhisattvas, of which the Myojin *koshiki* are one variety) had started being composed by, at latest, the end of the twelfth century.[638] The *Kōyasan Myōjin kō* is the last living tradition of *shōmyō jingi kōshiki*. Guelberg devotes a section of his essay to the *Kōyasan Myōjin kō*.[639] Though first penned by Shōso, *Kōyasan Myōjin kō* was revised by Yūkai in the Muromachi period, which is significant given that he was debater in the inaugural Rissei Rongi, and deeply involved in scholarship. Barbara Ambros, James Ford and Michaela Mross define *kōshiki* as having functioned "on a multitude of levels. Ostensibly, they endeavored to encourage devotion to the featured object by explaining its history, meaning, virtuous nature, and efficacious merit. The ritual itself fostered a karmic connection between participants and the object of devotion. But these texts and rituals also functioned on other social, political, economic, ideological, and performative levels…".[640]

At the monthly Myōjin-kō (generally, and in early examples), Guelberg notes that the "introductory part" of the *kōshiki* would be read aloud; the text itself is comprised of several sections, usually including Chinese and Sanskrit hymns, and a *saimon* (祭文 "consecration"). As mentioned above, Abe Yasurō suggests that the takusen inscriptions on the two paintings were chanted aloud and states that the paintings were used in the Myōjin-

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[637] This category of the genre (*jingi kōshiki* 神祇講式) is discussed by Niels Guelberg, *"Jingi kōshiki:* A neglected field of study," Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 43.1 (2016), 153-175. See p.163.

[638] Niels Guelberg, *"Jingi kōshiki*," 157.

[639] The *Kōyasan Myōjin kōshiki* is discussed on p.169 by Guelberg, *"Jingi kōshiki.*"

[640] Barbara R. Ambros, James L. Ford and Michaela Mross, "Editors' Introduction," 2.

kō, though gives no evidence to support this statement. However, in addition to the fact that these *shikishi* inscriptions include material shared by Shōso's Myōjin *kōshiki* and that they conform to a waka pattern, I conjecture that they were indeed chanted, and likely at the Myōjin-kō. And because they derive (or at least share text) with the inscriptions (and thus the *kirigami* distributed to monks), it is possible that the Myōjin-kō was the *Shukurō Myōjin-kō* which was exclusive to elected debaters and conversely, that the Kongōbuji diptych was used in this assembly before, at some point, being replaced by the Yōgō Myōjin we know is used today.

To put the Myōjin-kō and the kōshiki here into a broader context, we can also discern some similarities with Jien's scholarly assembly (*Tendai kangaku kō* 天台勧学講), which, as *zasu* of Hieizan in 1195/6, he established in order to improve the community's "scholastic learning and to bring together the feuding factions of his community". Guelberg notes that the assembly had "a mediating function" and was "a tool for establishing new organizational patterns"; he mentions that feuds were rather common at the time at many temples.[641] Jien's hopes for this scholarly *kō* do bear similarities to the sentiments expressed in the takusen inscriptions on the paintings, though arguably these were broadly shared concerns in monastic cultures that cultivated scholarship to a high degree. Jien wrote that he hoped that the *kō* would continue until Miroku appeared[642] much as the inscribed takusen pledges the presence of Niu's messenger until this descent. Miroku's descent would initiate a series of doctrinal lectures, so the mention of it was particularly significant in the context of maintaining scholarly excellence.

[641] JJRS 164.

[642] Guelberg, JJRS 165; note 13.

The takusen inscriptions are 32 syllables, making them waka (waka need not be exactly 31 syllables, but the related section in *Kōyasan hiki* is 31 syllables in an arrangement of 4, 6, 5, 8, 8). Takusen were often delivered in the form of waka, and the one received by Kishin was prized as such. Kami were also addressed as such, and in the monthly kami offering, the priest responsible for part of the ritual procedures sang a *hika* (秘歌 secret song) in the form of a waka.

Returning to the *kōshiki*, I refer the reader to the full text provided by Guelberg, but here I show the similarities with the texts on the diptych. The text is divided into five parts: four are for Niu, Kōya, Kehi, and Itsukushima, and the fifth is for "Shari Myōjin" ("relic kami"). Niu Myōjin's first manifestation to Daishi is recounted: "I have long been on the kami path, and longed for joy and authority. Now a bodhisattva [i.e Kukai] has come to this mountain which gives me joy. I am his disciple."[643] Kūkai's words in his final moments are also given, reminding us of the various entreaties not to desert the mountain, discussed in Chapters 2 and, in more detail, 3: "Those who stay on this peak will reside in joy. Those who leave it will regret their karma."[644]

In the part of the text devoted to Kōya Myōjin are found the familiar claims to land ownership via donation from an emperor, as well as declarations that the mountain is protected eternally by the "Daimyōjin" until the arrival of Miroku.[645] Of course, these references were well-known and the inscriptions may not be directly linked to the liturgical text except by way of commonly shared notions of the time. But considering its authorship

[643] Niels Guelberg, *Kōshiki* database 講式データーベース, lines 257:42-43. http://www.f.waseda.jp/guelberg/koshiki/datenb-j.htm
[644] Guelberg, *Kōshiki* database, lines 257:49-50

[645] Guelberg, *Kōshiki* database, lines 257:73-76

by Shōso, brother of Shinnichi, whose experience is cited in one of the inscriptions (see below), there is surely a tighter thread, one that binds the Chūinryū, and especially the group around Dōhan, to kami worship, scholarship, and the Myōjin-kō which coupled the two.

4. A visual genealogy: The significance of the Chūin-ryu figures found in paintings

I have suggested that genealogy or rather, lineage (and as it is related to reproduction, copies, and re-enactment) is at the core of the visual representations of the kami and their variant iconographies, that this was of a specific significance in the character, practice, and display of scholarly prowess, and that it was concerned with the Chūinryū. There are multiple aspects of this visual culture that support this. Firstly, the origins of iconography are found in direct experiences with the *kami*, both Kōbō Daishi's first encounter with them, and those, through visions/manifestations experienced by monks Joyo (Kishin), Shinzen (Nyohō Shōnin), Dōhan, and Yūkai – and, of course, the possessed acolyte introduced in the previous chapter. Direct experience enabled knowledge to be passed straight from the source, and it was the Chūinryū who had a direct channel to it. Such fundamental links to those Chūinryū figures and to others (Shinnichi, Shinken, and Shoso) deemed important by Chūinryū at the time of the painting's productions, and their beliefs, can be discerned through examination of the intertextual and intervisual references in the Kongōbuji diptych. The iconography, and the way it developed, was ultimately—like the *Takusenki* text—related to community consolidation and to rivalry between thirteenth century Chūinryū (affiliated with Kongōbuji) monks with Daidenbōin. The sources identified for the

inscriptions involve figures and cloister (*in*) affiliations that are linked, and also relate to the development of debates at Koyasan.

The Amanogu Shinnichi kiroku, which is alluded to on the painting of Kariba Myōjin, as mentioned in Chapter 3, surely refers to the experience of Shinnichi (?-1307) at Amano as reported in the previously mentioned *Nanzan chūin shingon hihō sho sōden fu* 南山中院真言秘法諸祖伝譜. It is recorded as being by Shūden 秀伝 (Sonkai 尊海; 1625-1695), dates to 1658, and the extant copy is at Kōyasan's Shinnōin 親王院. The writer was a highly-ranked Muryōjūin scholar monk who was initiated into the Chūinryū at Zuishin'in in 1665 and became 268th head at Kōyasan in 1686. Shinnō'in is of course significant: we have just encountered it as responsible for the Chigo Mondō-kō. In any case, it appears that Shinnichi recorded a vision of Nichizō Shōnin's, of Kariba Myōjin attending a gathering of kami late and with muddied robes: the words he says at this time are used as the inscription on the Kongōbuji painting. Shinnichi was maternal brother to Shinken (信堅 1259-1322). They were both Chūinryū affiliates, of Dairaku-in, and had carried on the practice of scholarship after Rengejōin's debate assemblies had been depleted following the exiles of Genchō, Dōhan, and Hossho.[646] Shinken and Shinnichi were, of course, born after the deaths of these figures. In their scholarly endeavor they were joined by figures Kakuwa (discussed above) and Genkai 玄海. Shinken was a *kengyō*[647] and an historian as well, and he was deeply concerned with the decline and revival of Kōyasan, about which he wrote in his *Kōyasan kōhai ki* 高野山興廃記. He was also a high-status *sendachi*: a *shugenja* who

[646] Toganoo, *Nihon mikkyō gakudō shi*, 118.

[647] Referred to as "Shinken Ajari" in *Yasan Myōreiki* as well. Vol. 1, 20. Also, Abe Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū: 14.

escorted the highest nobility around the various halls when they visited Kōyasan. He was both compiler (*senshū*) of *Kōyasan kan hosshin jinshū* 高野山勧発心集 and official *engi dokushi* (*engi* reciter) – a role he fulfilled for pilgrims. All three roles are bound together in the *sendachi* guidance he provided for Go-Uda Tennō in 1313, as recorded in the imperial pilgrimage record. This was the occasion of Go-Uda Tenno's observance of the Chigo Mondō-kō. The multiplicity of his roles was not unusual at that time. It resembles the careers of figures like Kakuwa and, slightly earlier, Dōhan, and seeing this can help to dispel the image that mountain ascetics were completely categorically or demographically separate (in roles, aspirations, and intellect) from erudite monastic scholars and lead administrators. In turn, it helps us to understand the ways in which education and, most notably, debate procedures were conducted at Kōyasan, because they involve/d a mixture of the above elements which have been all to easily divided from each other as the domains of separate groups.

In *Kōyasan kōhai ki* Shinken writes that on both of the occasions that Kōyasan was *chūzetsu* (中絶 discontinuance; extinction) it was revived by Gashin, and then Kishin.[648] Both are figures linked to the Chūinryū. Gashin was, significantly, the first *kengyō* of Kōyasan and he had erected shrines for Niu and Kariba (Kōya), the local *kami*, at the mausoleum of Kūkai during the reconstruction of the site after the destructive fire of 952. Shinken's emphasis on these reviver figures was a way of impressing upon the reader his own lineage's importance, and his own description of Kishin in his *Kōyasan kan hosshin*

[648] Gorai, *Koya no hijiri*, 90. Gorai, in spite of this, in *Shugendo Lore*, separates the community as do many other scholars (that is, the "san-gata" of scholar, gyōnin, and hijiri) but the hardness of the division lines between them were not, I think, very clear at this time and became clearer only in the Muromachi period.

jinshū is reflected in the inscription on the painting of Kariba Myōjin, as discussed in Chapter 4. Shinken and Shinnichi reached high status as scholars. Both were invited by Kameyama'in 亀山院 in 1305 to lecture on the *Shaku makaen ron* (though Shinnichi withdrew because of illness). The devotion shown to Kameyama'in at this time is said to be the origin of the *hanada-mōsu* headwear worn by scholar monks:[649] as the story goes, because Shinken was cold on his way to lecture for the Kameyama'in at Kameyama Rikyū, he tore off his sleeve and used it to cover his head.[650]

I have drawn attention repeatedly to the group of the "great eight" scholar monks and their involvements with scholarly assemblies (Kakuwa's *hyōhyaku*; Shosō's Myōjin koshiki; the hagiographies around Dōhan as well as his very real scholarly efforts) along with the iconography and inscriptions on the Kongōbuji diptych (as related to Shinnichi and Shinken, and to the *Koyasan hiki* compiled either by Dōhan or his follower Myōchō). Shosō and Shinben had co-signed (with others) a letter to the bakufu to ask for the return of Dōhan and Hosshō. These were also companions and fellow debaters with Dohan and Hossho in the assemblies that were flourishing in the years before the exiles[651] and for far longer before that: the four together were the celebrated disciples of leading scholar monk Kakukai. Their coalescence in text and image is a reflection of their attempts to reinforce their lineage, leadership, and their primacy as scholars: and that they did.

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[649] Matsunaga, *Kōyasan*, 236; see also the "Shinken" entry in the MDJ, 405.

[650] The white cloths worn today by them at scholarly assemblies such as the *Kangaku-e* are called *chirimen bōshi* (or *mōsu*).

[651] A copy of *Hishumongiyō* 秘宗文義要 (1215) by Jōhen 静遍（1165-1223, for example, notes that it was lectured for Dōhan, Hosshō, and Shōso in 1222. (See Oshika on *shukuzen* in *Chisan gakuhō*, 77, 139)

5. Postscript: Fudō Myōō, the *Gohonjiku* Mandala, and Henmyō'in

There is one more puzzle-piece of the visual culture that relates to the debates. Namikiri Fudō Myōō (the "wave-cutting Fudō" (a form of Acala-vidyārāja)) of Nan'in at Kōyasan,[652] was transported to Kyūshū for a coastal ritual. Here it had—along with the kami of Amanosha—taken part in the defense of the realm against the invasions of the Yuan Dynasty military.[653] The establishment of the 1291 debate was just a few years after this successful repulsion. Fudō and the kami were bound together at least from this period because of their dual actions in repelling enemies, and it was Yushin of Henmyō'in—signatory of the *Takusenki* and its apparent intended recipient according to Yūkai—who had recorded the kami dashing from their Amano shrines to defend the realm.[654] As a result, the kami had been lauded by court and bakufu and promoted in rank, so the new mondō-kō at Amanosha may well have been a result of increased prosperity and pilgrimage (in addition to the patronage from Hōjō Masako and other aristocrats which was by now well-established), for such debates were viewed by high ranking pilgrims.

This particular (Namikiri) Fudō Myōō plays an intriguing part in the Rissei Rongi debates, but one that, as with the other icons I have discussed, I have been unable to definitively describe. The preparation for this debate is the daily practice, a *hōshi* (奉祀) called "Gohonjiku" (御本地供 *Offering to the Honji*). The date of the origin of this ritual,

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[652] Deemed a creation of Kukai's brought back from T'ang China.

[653] Faure also describes this incident in *The Fluid Pantheon*, 139 and 142.

[654] Yamakage, 2006, 110-114 and the *Dajōkan chō utsushi* (太政官牒写 Niu family collection. Dated 1709. A photograph of this document is available in Wakayama kenritsu hakubutsukan, *Amano no rekishi to geinō*, 93).

which involves worshipping the honji of the kami, is unclear and the Meiji manual used today, the *Sannoin Rissei* simply refers to "old examples and offers no relevant information about it. However, it possibly developed soon after the oracle at Henmyō'in of 1251, which Dohan had textualised, as mentioned. The reasons why this is possible are as follows. An entry in another section of the *Fudōki* lists the "Honjiku" as a "regular event" (*nenjugyōji*), and adds that it was practiced at Henmyo'in once a day (*ichiza* 一座). Of course, the oracle of 1251 occurred also at Henmyō'in, and regarding this, the *Tsūnenshū* records that the kami at that time "…will manifest at this temple every day forever, and so a place was prepared [for it]. Now a room is set up and that is the reason why it has always been called *Goyōgō no ma* [The Yōgō Room]." The *Fudoki* confirms, too, that the room at Henmyō'in where the oracle had occurred was called "*Yogo no ma.*" A specific place then, had been set up at the cloister, for the purpose of receiving (or invoking) the presence of Daishi Myōjin. In the *Shunjū*, there is an extra detail of interest. In this room was "a separate altar for the everyday manifestation of the Daimyōjin." The mention of "everyday manifestation" (*mainichi yōgō*) here recall those of 'everyday *yōgō*' found in the 1313 diary of Go-Uda's pilgrimage: "Koyasan… is a site appropriate to the three mysteries …and because the kami are in Miroku's [Baitarina] heaven above, they manifest themselves in various places; every day there are manifestations."[655]

Takusenki also contains countless references to kami manifesting in various places, attesting to a common belief or phenomenon at Kōyasan at the time. Taking this into consideration, the scattered mentions of the *Honjiku* found in the various Edo period

[655] *Go Uda'in Gokōki* 後宇多院御幸記, ZGR v.4.1, 165-179.

chronicles make it possible to speculate that the this ritual had been performed at Henmyō'in since the time of the oracle: the construction there of a special altar and the worship done there every day when it manifested was a way of both honoring the site at which the kami had manifested itself and also a way of assuredly "accessing" it, since it had pledged its presence.

Henmyō'in might not only have been the site for the Honjiku practiced in preparation for debates. It might also have been a storage facility for implements used during them. To draw on the Fudoki again, we are told that Henmyō'in "also donated a hall for keeping the offerings and such things for the Monthly offering of Rongi". This monthly offering was not the Rissei Rongi, but the *Sannōin Rishu zanmai Tsuketari Monkō* at Sannō'in which was started perhaps as early as 1262. However, the *Honjiku* performed in connection with the annual Rissei Rongi was done once a day every day, just as the (unspecified) Honjiku listed as a *nenjūgyoji* in the Fudoki was, and today the object of worship (as a painting) for the Rissei Rongi *Honjiku* is what is known as "Yōgō Myōjin." It can be surmised from the chronicle records of Henmyō'in that the object of the daily *Honjiku* was also Yōgō Myōjin, because this kami-manifestation had vowed to appear daily and the monks had pledged to worship it daily. It seems possible that the *Honjiku* linked to the Rissei Rongi in fact developed in some way out of the Henmyōin oracle/manifestation and the practices connected to it, though this idea must remain within the realm of speculation since the links are very difficult to clarify.

Though by no means concrete evidence, these scattered references suggest that the *Gohonjiku* had been performed in some form since the 13th century up until at least the Edo period, and that it had been an important regular ritual performed to honor the site at which

the kami had manifested itself, and to worship it there in its subsequent daily manifestations. Important commonalities between today's debate-related practice and that of Henmyō'in is the unceasing, daily worship, and the mentioned storage of mondō implements is significant. Since Henmyōin was at some point in the Edo or Meiji period absorbed into Shōjōshin'in and no longer exists today it is possible that it was this that instigated the sharing of worship *between* temples in the Rissei Rongi, and in turn necessitated a procession for transporting the paintings between each.

Namikiri Fudō of Nan'in is taken once a year (today) to Sannō'in for a ritual. During the Meiji period reforms, all Koyasan's kami were taken out of their shrines, and in fact at this time Niu and Kariba were also taken out of their shrines that faced Sannōin. Namikiri Fudō was used as a replacement for "these lost protectors" by "the Koyasan administration" who moved it from Nanin to Sannō'in, while the shrines for the Myōjin came to be occupied by Buddhist sutras removed from Amanosha that conversely had been stripped of "non-Shinto" elements. [656] Namikiri Fudō was since re-installed at Nan'in and is transported temporarily to Sannō'in for rituals there. Namikiri Fudō is enclosed inside a small shrine which has a mandala called the *Gohonjiku Mandala* of five kami (Niu, Kōya, Itsukushima, Kehi, and the "various kami" (*shoshin* 緒神)) in their *honji* forms painted on its interior (Fig.13). The latter two Myōjin – summoned to Amanosha in 1208 - are worshipped, which indicates the ritual is certainly post-1208, though when these two other kami were summoned to Kōyasan is unclear. It is recorded in the *Fudoki*[657] that the

[656] Nicoloff, *Sacred Kōyasan*, 115 and fn. 71, 299. Also Reihōkan: *Sacred Treasures of Mount Koya: The Art of Japanese Shingon Buddhism*, 170.

[657] *Fudoki* 5, 80-81.

Namikiri Fudō kept in the Sannō'in, was used as honzon during the *Shiki kitō* rituals. These rituals were established in 1347 and a remark issued regarding the honzon (which does not identify it) in the *okibumi* about the ritual procedure instructs that the *Jikunoshu* 慈救呪 mantra be chanted, and because this is Fudō Myōō's mantra we can assume that the honzon was Fudō right from the start.[658] This Fudō is still used during the summer rite called *kaki-inori* 夏季祈り (prayers against epidemics in the summer), which replaced the Shiki Kitō (which was a rite for cursing tax evaders).

The relationship between Nan'in's Namikiri Fudō and the worship of the kami is thought to have begun around the late 13th century. It may well have to do with the direct link deemed between Kukai and the icon, that was then related to the strong emphasis both in important texts and in paintings of the time on the relationship between the patriarch and the gods, which was then—I posit—enacted during the debates. It might also be noted that the central kami in the Honjiku Mandala (in *honji* form as the Dainichi Nyorai of the Taizō-kai) is Niu Myōjin. With Fudō placed in front of her inside the shrine, he represents her suijaku, just as identified in the Takusenki and other texts of the thirteenth century by the Chūin-ryū, which conveyed these analogic forms. The Rissei Rongi debate at Sannōin involved the transportation of the icon from Nan-in and installation in the shrine inside Sannōin because the *kaki-inori* took place on the first and second day of the lunar fifth month; the debate on the 3rd day. The icon is removed before the debates begin. The links between the Gohonjiku Mandala, Henmyō'in with its post-oracle altar, Gohonjiku daily

[658] Yamakage, *Chusei Kōyasan shi no kenkyu*, 147. Also, according to the *Kōyasan jissō jiten* (19), Namikiri Fudō had long been housed inside the Sanno'in but Nan'in head priest Ihan placed him at Nan'in after Fudō had requested relocation in a dream.

practice and storage of mondō implements are compelling but difficult to draw any conclusions from. Future research is intended to investigate the origins of the Gohonjiku Mandala and its relationship (if any) to Henmyōin.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has brought together two seemingly different threads: the history of doctrinal debates and discussions, and the phenomena or practices of contact with kami and the dead (such as possession, oracles, manifestations, and memorial rites). I have tried to bring attention, through these subjects, to methods of transmitting teachings that are exemplified by a particular lineage group during a particularly volatile period in the history of Koyasan. I have also expored it through the examination of a text an oracle entitled *Henmyō'in Daishi Myōjin Go-Takusenki* and the figures and material culture connected to it, and its production. This text was the first to explicitly explain the nature of a previously obscure kami, Daishi Myōjin. That this kami is described as an amalgamate of patriarchs and kami, who can deliver oracles regarding secret teachings about Kōyasan indicates that there was a crisis that required resolution concerning teaching transmissions. And indeed, the opening section describes a factional conflict and expresses fear of the loss of teachings as a result of the disputes. The nature of the text itself parallels the loss of embodied teachings (through exile and death): it is a series of teachings channeled through a present body. Possession by a spirit means possessing doctrinal teachings. Examining the figures involved in both the production of the text and in the conflict we find a scholarly faction at work—the Chūin-ryū, and within it a small group of Kakukai followers—who produced many other texts that center on Kōyasan-centric secret teachings. They also penned liturgical texts and invocations linked to ritualized scholarly events that revolve around the kami of Kōyasan. A second generation of Kakukai followers continued the project but make efforts to re-establish the scholarly institutions interrupted by the earlier conflicts.

These figures seem to have been responsible for paintings connected to debate assemblies and related ritual procedures.

This volatile period, these figures, and their activities captures the attention of scholar and Chūin-ryū affiliate Yūkai some two hundred years later, for he is invested in a grand re-organization of the lineages in the community and a purging of what he deems heretical. He also establishes the community's most organized doctrinal debate. Yūkai, too, recognizes the *Takusenki*, and the oracular possession that led to its production, as a means of healing a potential rift in lineage that would lead to decline. The efforts to maintain lineage as well as primacy in terms of leadership were inextricably linked to kami worship at Kōyasan in the premodern period. This is because the founder, Kōbō Daishi Kūkai had himself become deified, and ultimately so in the figure of Daishi Myōjin, and the "true teachings," uncorrupted and orthodox led, of course, back to him. It is also because kami (Niu Myōjin and Kōya (Yōgō) Myōjin) were considered, like other powerful kami of the period, to be powerful teachers of the Buddhist doctrine. Additionally, the kami and the deified Kōbō Daishi were understood to be mingling among sentient beings whilst awaiting the coming of Miroku and his doctrinal assemblies, at which time the Kōbō Daishi in "eternal meditation" at Okuno'in, would also emerge. According to this logic, the leader of Kōyasan, the *kengyō*, was treated as only a temporary stand-in for Kōbō Daishi. Premodern monastic scholarship was tightly bound to these notions as it was only through mastering the teachings of Kūkai that one could ascend the ladder of clerical leadership.

In the restoration and systematization of the mondō which took place between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the kami truly seem to have been conceived of not only as "protectors of" Dharma, but also as superior teachers and transmitters of it. Another

way that this transmission could be accomplished, in addition to oracles, was, it appears, through mondō ("question-and-answer discussions") whilst manifesting in form to monks. This idea—hagiographical or not—creates a fascinating link between the oracle at Henmyō'in, the patriarch-kami that delivered it, teaching transmissions, debate practices, and success. *Takusenki* itself involves numerous passages that are clearly answers to questions, and later accounts of the oracular possession describe the interrogation of the possessed child by the elder scholar monks of the community.

Following the oracle, Henmyō'in constructed an altar for the purpose of re-invoking the kami, and at some point it began a daily practice of the Gohonjiku ritual, which has been performed by debate participants since the early fifteenth century each day for a year before they enter the debate arena. Another part of the debate procedure involves "Daishi Myōjin" and an examination of the debate preparation, the debate itself, and their equivalents at other temple complexes, suggests that the kami are understood to be instructing the debate participant. There is also a strong element of ancestral worship that involves both Kōbō Daishi and Kariba Myōjin, which appears to be a variation on the debate-as-memorial model that was common among temples that held debates. Much future research is required on, for example, the exact ways in which Koyasan adapted its debate from the models it had used from Kōfukuji's rituals, and on the changes that the main debate (the Rissei Rongi) surely underwent between the fifteenth century and the present day.

While the precise links between Henmyō'in, *Takusenki*, and scholarly rites also remain somewhat obscure, I have attempted to illuminate how debates and *mondō* interlock(ed) with practices of possession by, and manifestation of, kami, and how these

emerged from a particular group of scholar monks invested in maintaining their absolute authority at Kōyasan. In so doing, I hope to have contributed to the understanding of both the character of kami in the medieval period, as well as that of the debate rituals. By bringing together subjects conventionally deemed to be respectively "occult" (in terms of possession) and rational, I hope to have complicated both categories. My study also challenges the view that doctrinal study declined during the medieval period, becoming "mere" ritual. The ritualization of debates does not necessarily have a correlative relation to the decline or prosperity of doctrinal scholarship. Rather, it reflects the function of kami in the scholastic arena and it may be said, in its replication of communication with kami, that scholarship at Kōyasan *was* ritual.

FIGURES

Fig.1. *Yakujin Myōō* 厄神明王, (also known as "Two-Headed Aizen"). Wood, metals, and gold leaf. Yakujin Mondō Tokoji 門戸厄神東光寺, Hyogo Prefecture. Period undetermined.

Fig.2. *Yakujin Myōō* 厄神明王, (also known as "Two-Headed Aizen"). Silk with color. Hanging scroll. Yakujin Mondō Tokoji 門戸厄神東光寺, Hyogo. Edo period.

Fig.3. *Ryōzu Aizen* 両頭愛染. (Two-Headed Aizen Myōō). Color on silk. Hanging scroll. Kongōbuji, Kōyasan.

Fig.4. *Ryūzō Aizen* 立像愛染. (Standing Aizen Myōō). Wood with colored pigment and gold leaf. Originally at Enpukuji 円福寺, Wakayama; now at Wakayama Prefectural Museum. Edo Period.

Fig.5. Ryōzu Aizen 両頭愛染.Two-Headed Seated Aizen Myōō, Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺, Kōyasan (once at Amanosha). Wood with pigments. Muromachi-Edo Period.

Fig. 6. Niu Myojin 丹生明神 and Kariba Myojin 狩場明神 (both 79.0 x 39.5 cm). Silk with color. Hanging scroll. Kongobuji, Kōyasan. 13th – 14th century.

Fig. 6.1. Kōbō Daishi and Kariba Myōjin. Color on silk. Hanging scroll. Ryūkō'in, Kōyasan. Muromachi period.

Fig 6.2. Kōbō Daishi with Yōgō Myōjin, Buddhist divinities, and mandala sections. Hanging scroll. Myōō'in, Kōyasan, Edo period (?).

Fig. 6.3. Aizen Myōō statue in a shrine with painted figures of Yōgō Myojin (?) and Kōbō Daishi. Wood with colored pigments. Semuiji 施無畏寺, Yuasa, Wakayama, mid-14th C(?).

Fig. 6.4. Hachiman 八幡, Ise 伊勢, Kasuga 春日, Yōgō Myōjin 影向明神, Kōbō Daishi. Hanging scroll. Shinnō'in 親王院, Kōyasan. Edo period.

Fig. 7. *Mondō-kō honzon* 問答講本尊 (or *Mondō-kō zu*), (212.0 x 127.5 cm), Kongōbuji, Kōyasan, 1291(?).

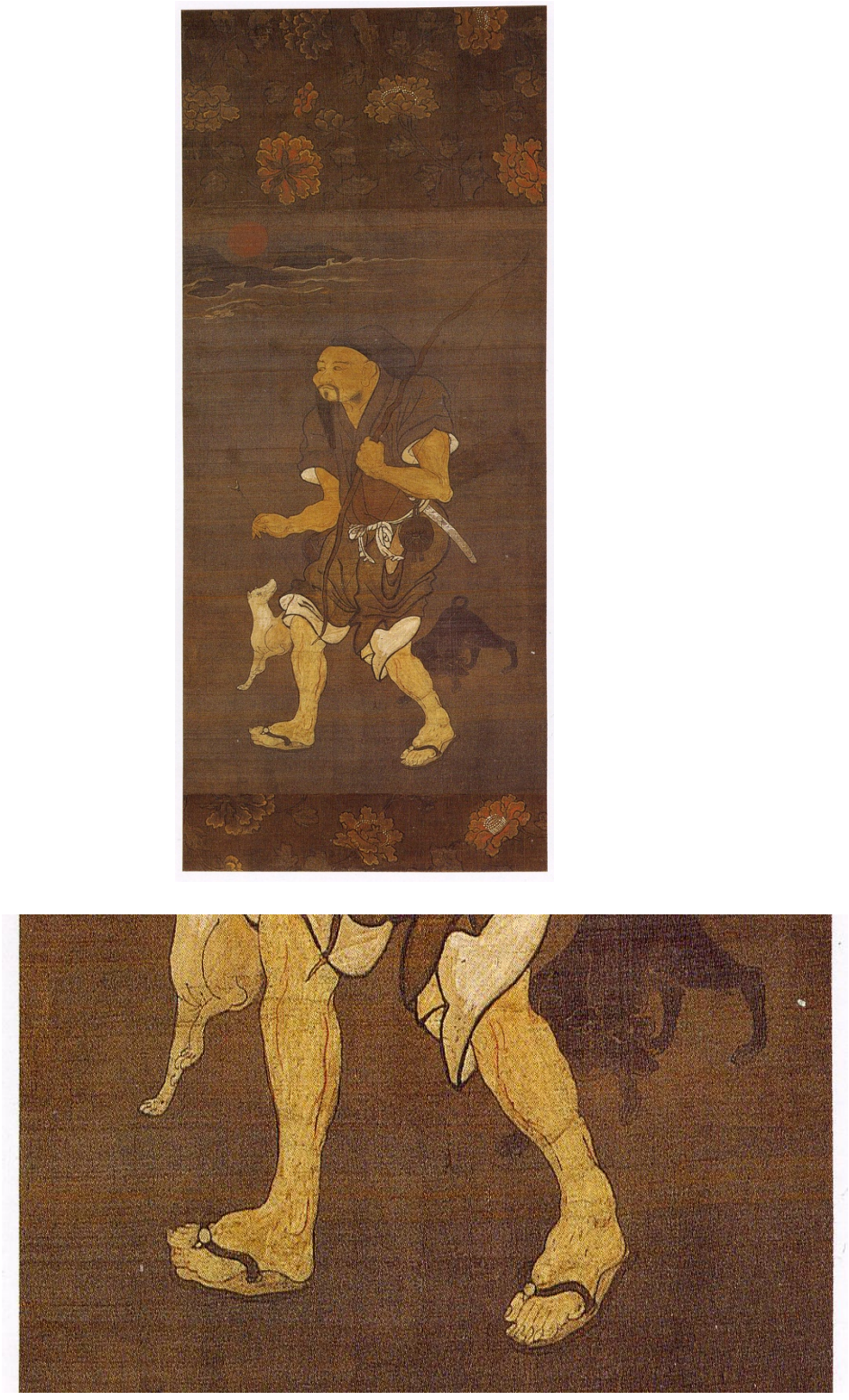

Fig. 8. Kariba Myōjin, (97. 5 x 62.7 cm, Ryūkō'in 竜光院, Kōyasan, Kamakura period.

Fig 9. *Miroku bosatsu mandala* 弥勒菩薩曼荼羅, showing Kōbō Daishi at lower left.

Fig.10. Nyohō Shōnin 如法上人 and Niu Myōjin, Colors on silk. Hanging scroll. Myōōin 明王院, Kōyasan. Edo period.

Fig.11. Yōgō Myōjin 影向明神. Color on silk. Hanging scroll. Kongōbuji, Kōyasan. Edo period.

Fig.12. Left: Yōgō Myōjin, Centre: Chigo Daishi 稚児大師 (61.6 x 36.5 cm, Muromachi period), Right: Kariba Myōjin (61.6 x 36.5, Muromachi period). Color on silk. Hanging scrolls. All Shōchi'in 正智院, Kōyasan.

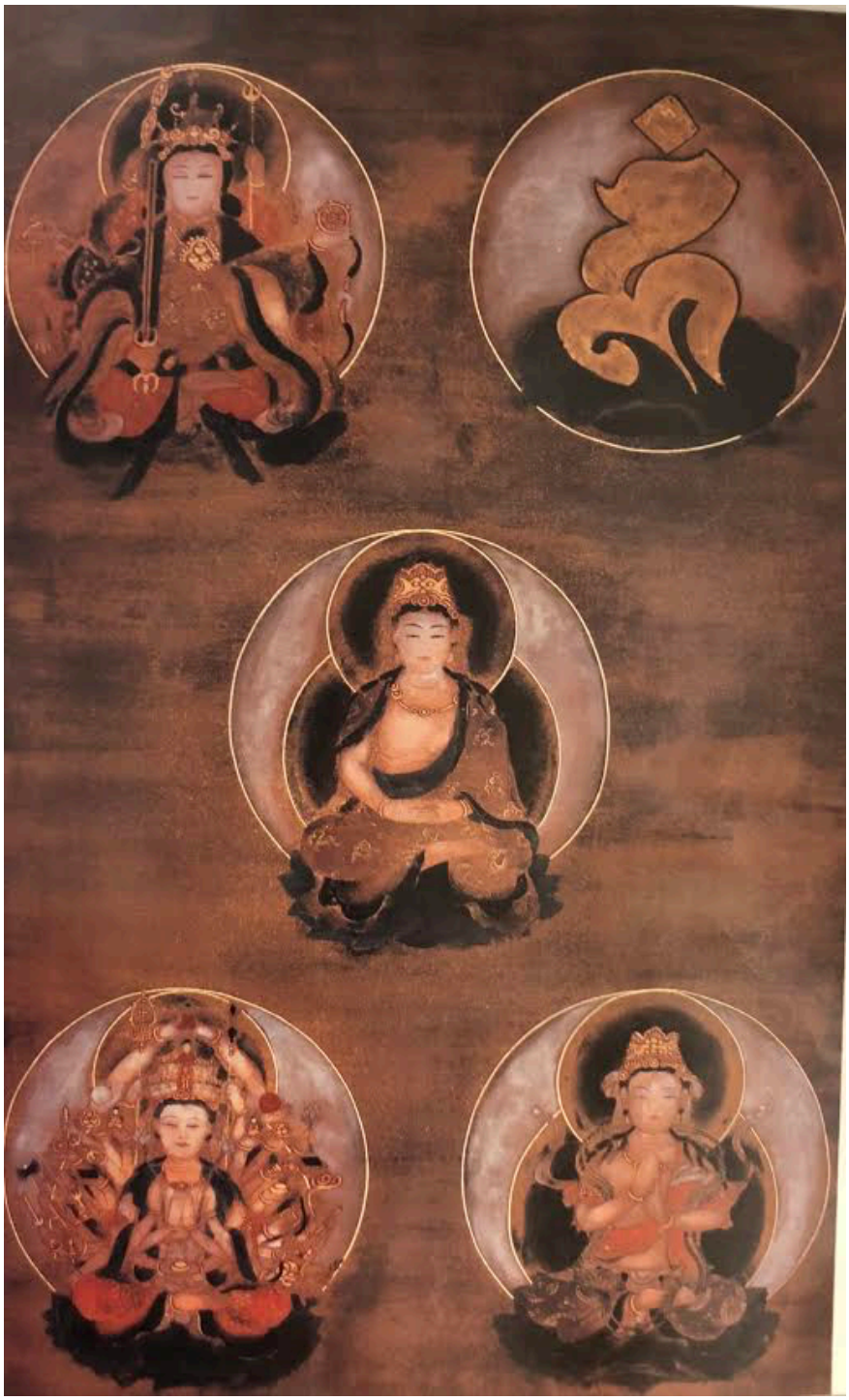

Fig.13. *Gohonjiku Mandala* 御本地供曼荼羅. Nan'in 南院, Kōyasan. Edo period.

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APPENDIX

Brief Summary of *Henmyō'in Daishi Myōjin Go Takusenki*

The earliest records of the oracular possession at Henmyōin are found in Yūkai's works, the *Ategawa yakusō chūki* (1413) and the *Jitsugoshō* (undated). These are followed by an account in the fourth volume of *Kōyasan tsūnenshū* (1672). Other reports are found in the chronicle *Kōya shunju hennen shūroku* (1719) as well as in the section for "Henmyō'in" in *Kongōbuji shoinge sekifushū* (1788), and the Kōyasan section of the gazette *Kii zoku fudoki* (completed in 1839). As the accounts record, the chigo's *takusen* was written down, preserved as a written document, and copied by a number of scribes.

Reconstructing the original text has presented considerable complications, and at this stage (in the absence of this original or of a greater number of copies), the nature of its original form must remain somewhat speculative. The account I use here (which is that reconstructed by Abe, and whose commentary on this I use here)[659] was at an early stage divided into two parts, which had been transmitted separately. A Kenchō 建長 3 record as a document in its entirety has not yet been found. The second section seems to have been distributed as an independent document with an independent title of *Go-takusenki* (the "go" is an honorific), and it dates the occurrence of the oracle to Kenji 3 (1277), rather than Kenchō 3. This was a copy from 1323. The *Kii zoku fudoki* account is based on this 1277

[659] Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan engi no kenkyū*, 104-112.

transmission, citing the text as "*Kenji sannen takusenki*" ("Record of the Kenji 3 Oracle"). However, 1277 as a date for the event is not credible given that Dōhan, who had died in 1252, is listed among five *renhan* (signatories) in the closing section of the text. It is, then, possible that the 1277 dating is a simple scribal error, particularly as the characters for the year in which 1251 fell (*Kenchō*) are similar in appearance to those for the *Kenji* era (建治), and the month is the same in both cases.

There is one *Takusenki* that dates the incident and production to 1251. This is kept by Sanbō'in cloister at Kōyasan and is a copy of 1574. The original title is unclear and a number of copies append the title "Go-Takusenki" which does not distinguish this text from other (general) takusen records, so Abe calls this one *Henmyō'in Daishi Myōjin Go Takusenki*. For clarity in citation, I also use the numbers appended by Abe to the articles (already marked using a premodern non-numerical convention). In terms of composition, it is (and was, originally) separated into seventeen sections that are further divided into nine other sections in order of importance, or profundity: *shochō* (first "level") to *daikuchō* ("level" number nine),[660] as follows:

Part One

1. On the Disturbance Between the Two Temples
2. Matters to be Attended to by [Kongōbuji] Monks Concerning their Inner Hearts and Outer Conduct

[660] Abe considers the composition of the document to be "unnatural" For example, it appears that section number 10 was originally one section even though it extends from the first to the second part of the document (Abe, *Chūsei Kōyasan no engi*, 53).

3. On Jison'in Cloister
4. (Section 1) On the Messengers [of divinities] and Various Signs
5. (Section 2) On *Suijaku* ["Manifest"/ "trace" forms of buddhas]
6. (Section 3) On *Honji* ["Ground" forms of buddhas]
7. (Section 4) On *Samadhi* Fire
8. (Section 5) On Protection
9. (Section 6) On Naming
10. (Section 7) On the Two Dragons and the Two Tigers

Part Two

10 (Section 7) On the Two Dragons and the Two Tigers [continued from previous volume]

11 On Various Matters at Okuno'in [Inner sanctum]

12 On *Danjō* [the central complex of halls]

13 On *Uimujō* [the active world of transient phenomena]

14 (Section 8) On Various Matters regarding *Nyoi Hōju* ["*mani*" wish-fulfilling jewel]

15 (Section 9) On the Five Transformations, etc

16 On the Revival by the *Myōjin* [god/s] of the Sick Person

17 On the *Kishōmon* [written contractual vow]